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## LORD DERBY.

IT would perhaps have been judicious to defer the political obituary of Lord DERBY until he had actually resigned, but the temptation of dealing with an interesting subject has been too strong for eager biographers to resist. The certain or probable retirement of a conspicuous political leader naturally suggests reflections on his character and influence, as well as on the time during which he has been concerned in public affairs; but it is far more agreeable to enter on the discussion when there is reason to hope that Lord DERBY may still be able to resume his political activity. Notwithstanding the frequent changes of English Governments, the office of First Minister has, by some curious accident, remained a close monopoly. In two-and-twenty years there have been seven Cabinets, and only four Prime Ministers. Lord DERBY and Lord RUSSELL, both of whom entered public life more than forty years ago, are the only living statesmen who have held the highest office under the Crown. It was perhaps fortunate for the Whig leader that his more brilliant and eloquent rival broke off from his early party relations before the death of Lord ALTHORP; for the Mr. STANLEY of 1834, with equal advantages of birth and connection, and second only to Sir ROBERT PEEL in Parliamentary position, could scarcely have been postponed even to the most genuine representative of hereditary and orthodox Liberalism. The two chief legislative achievements of Lord DERBY's long career were accomplished when he was still the colleague of Lord GREY. The Irish system of national education has always been associated with his name, and his more recent followers have long since forgotten that he introduced the measure by which several Irish bishoprics were suppressed. As Secretary for the Colonies, he was the organ of the Cabinet in carrying the abolition of slavery, and the grant of 20,000,000*l.* to the planters of the West Indies and of Mauritius. During the same period he was one of the most powerful speakers in the House of Commons, and he was especially conspicuous as the daring and formidable antagonist of O'CONNELL. The phrase of alliterative abuse by which the great demagogue avenged himself for constant vexation and occasional defeat has sometimes been unfairly quoted as a proof that Mr. STANLEY was acrimonious and unpopular. An offensive nickname was the inevitable result of a conflict with O'CONNELL or with COBBETT. The agitators of the present day are as eloquent as one of those politicians, and probably honestest than either, but they no longer appeal to the humorous instincts of their followers. Having never in his later years been conspicuous for prudence, Lord DERBY has perhaps not felt serious remorse for occasional bursts of violence in his youth. The famous harangue delivered from the table at BROOKES's, after the defeat of the first Reform Bill, was inconsistent with the character of a Tory Prime Minister only as youth is for the most part inconsistent with maturity and age.

Lord STANLEY's secession from the Whigs on the question of the Appropriation Clause proved to be the first step in a natural transition to the purest form of party Conservatism. In 1834 he still held back from a coalition with Sir ROBERT PEEL; but as the memory of the Reform contest faded in the distance, he gradually became the staunch ally of his former opponent. The great knowledge and capacity of his chief reduced him to the rank of a subordinate in the Cabinet of 1841; but as PEEL gradually inclined to more Liberal opinions, the hopes of the Conservatives were fixed on their zealous convert, and when the party was split in two by the repeal of the Corn-laws, Lord STANLEY naturally succeeded to the post of leader, which he has since held without dispute. Both from his own temperament, and in conformity with the traditions of his generation, he has been always inclined to make the predominance of his party his principal object. Sir ROBERT PEEL, with a cooler nature

and a more comprehensive intellect, although he had formed a party and created a majority with unexampled skill, used his supremacy, as soon as he had secured it, exclusively for the benefit of the country. Lord DERBY, like Lord RUSSELL, always considered a Parliamentary victory rather as a coveted prize than as a condition of practical activity. Mr. GLADSTONE has learned half the lesson which was taught by the example of PEEL, in looking solely to administrative and legislative utility, without stopping from time to time to count his forces. It was not till Sir ROBERT PEEL had formed a great party, and hopelessly defeated opposition, that he began his fruitful course of economical experiments. Lord JOHN RUSSELL, though he was not devoid of patriotic feeling, sincerely identified the success of his party with the welfare of the country. Lord DERBY, not perhaps believing profoundly in the efficacy of legislation, seems in later years to have regarded political contests as he may have thought of his contemporaneous efforts at Ascot and Newmarket. Although he was personally indifferent to the possession of office, he liked to win for himself and his associates; and his partial success has been analogous to the questionable triumphs of a second competitor in a race on the technical disqualification of a speedier rival. Although he has been three times Prime Minister, Lord DERBY has never commanded a majority in the House of Commons, and on each occasion he has succeeded to office as an inevitable alternative. His first appointment was caused by Lord JOHN RUSSELL's blunder in quarrelling with Lord PALMERSTON, and his second by Lord PALMERSTON's reckless abuse of the security which he seemed to have attained when his supporters swept the constituencies at the general election of 1857. On the third occasion Lord DERBY was indebted to Mr. GLADSTONE for the opportunity of attempting to retrieve his former failures. A majority of eighty bequeathed by Lord PALMERSTON to his successors had, by the unskilful manœuvres of a few months, become hopelessly "clubbed," and Lord DERBY, with Mr. DISRAELI, had only to occupy an undefended position.

It is not the time to discuss Lord DERBY's latest political acts, except so far as he has himself explained his motives. With perfect candour, and with evident unconsciousness of the questionable nature of his avowal, he has frequently stated that he had determined not to be ejected from office a third time on the issue which had proved fatal to his two former Administrations. Moralists of another school might hold that twenty abdications or expulsions from power were preferable to an entire change of political principles and conduct; but an ingenious casuist might easily devise an apology for proceedings which seemed, to the simpler mind of Lord DERBY, to require no excuse. On many former occasions he has displayed imperfect sensitiveness to considerations which would have restrained more cautious statesmen, if not from doubtful acts, at least from unnecessary declarations. He had nothing to gain by telling the Italians, in a familiar quotation, that they ranked with men only as curs and turnspits ranked with dogs; and he gratuitously alienated the support of Mr. DISRAELI's Irish recruits by proposing, in vernacular phrase, to muzzle the Roman Catholics. Carelessness and laxity of expression are defects in statesmen, and yet the temper which they indicate is in itself not unpopular. Perfect art, in political discussion as elsewhere, conceals itself, combining, according to the Italian precept, impenetrable thoughts with an open countenance; but occasional recklessness in minor matters repels confidence less than minutely ostentatious anxiety to avoid all cause of offence. It seemed natural that an orator who was always vigorous and often witty should sometimes deviate into rashness.

Nearly all the recent comments on Lord DERBY's life and character have been written in a friendly spirit. His defects are at least as conspicuous as Mr. GLADSTONE's whimsical perversities; but they are less irritating, perhaps because they seem to be less wilful. Criticisms on Lord RUSSELL almost

always betray the feelings which are naturally provoked by a certain narrow self-complacency both in his wiser and his less wise acts. Lord DERBY, whatever may have been the faults of his career, has not been either conceited or sophistical. A late eulogist symbolized one of his claims to popularity in the odd, though accurate, statement that he was fond of horses. It has always been conventionally understood that a familiarity with the stable induces a generous laxity of moral theory and practice, which is more agreeable to the general taste than puritanical strictness. Inferior persons establish no additional title to respect by engaging in the speculations of the Turf; but a Minister who keeps a racing stud conciliates public feeling by the implied admission that he pretends to be no better than his neighbours. A certain sharpness which is carried to excess in the betting-ring is the only intellectual quality which a considerable part of this community either understands or values. Lord DERBY is capable of chuckling at the oversight of an adversary, or even at a minor display of ingenuity on his own part; but as in greater matters he has never been a cunning or tricky intriguer, his little triumphs in debate or management are generally further rewarded by the applause of the bystanders. Perhaps the most popular of all Lord DERBY's gifts consists in the aggregate of advantages which he enjoys. A virtuous man struggling with adversity is a sight for the gods; but men take far more pleasure in watching the favourites of nature and of fortune. The combination which placed one of the most accomplished of modern orators at the head of a wealthy family of high rank and ancient lineage secured the sympathy of social equals and of intellectual rivals. In some respects, Lord DERBY had a fair start with competitors of humbler station, for the rank which provides exceptional opportunities at the same time diminishes the stimulus to exertion. If success had been less easy and less early, Lord DERBY would perhaps have studied social and political questions more deeply, though it may be doubted whether increased wisdom and knowledge would have strengthened the confidence of his party. In one accident of felicity Lord DERBY stands alone, for no Minister on the eve of certain or possible retirement has listened to a discussion whether he should be succeeded by his son. The hereditary chance of office is the more remarkable as the respective qualities of Lord DERBY and Lord STANLEY are different and even opposite.

#### LORD RUSSELL AND THE LIBERAL PARTY.

LORD RUSSELL'S pamphlet on Ireland illustrates in a very curious manner the relation he bears to the party of which he has long been the nominal head. It brings into strong relief both his good and his bad points as a party leader. It is indeed the work of a party leader rather than of a statesman, and indicates not so much what England should do with Ireland, as what the Liberal party should do this Session. No one can read it and not see that it reveals some at least of the qualities which fairly entitle a man to hold the position which Lord RUSSELL has attained. There is more spirit in the composition than might have been expected by those who are familiar with Lord RUSSELL's literary style; and if there is no great width or originality in the views announced, still there is much common sense, a considerable amount of information, and an appreciation of the fact that it is of no use writing on Ireland now except to propose some definite practicable change. There is, too, a sincerity of interest in the subject that makes itself felt; and the reader is justifiably reminded throughout that Lord RUSSELL has not taken up Ireland all of a sudden, but has been combating the Protestant ascendancy all his life. This exhibits Lord RUSSELL in his very best light. It is quite true that, within the narrow limits of the old Whig school, he has been working for nearly half a century in exactly the same direction, and is saying now what he said thirty years ago about the Established Church. So far as he is a Liberal at all, he is a very ardent and a very sound Liberal, and works like a man for his party and his cause. In the next place, he has that qualification for party leadership which is given by a hearty love of a good party fight. Age does not seem to have in any way dimmed the delight with which he says a good slashing, even if perfectly irrelevant, thing against the Tories. He actually takes up a page of a pamphlet on Ireland in order to draw an elaborate parallel illustrating the difference between Whigs and Tories from the history of what is going on in Abyssinia. In this parallel the Whigs are the skilful, bold engineers who make a road in an unknown country; the Tories are the mules and donkeys who rush up the good road thus made for them, and

bray with delight at finding themselves so quickly and easily at the top. We smile as we read it—not at the parallel itself, which is in the last degree far-fetched, but at the oddity of an ex-Prime Minister upwards of seventy years of age honestly thinking it good fun to write of political opponents in this way. Lastly, he is, and always has been, a generous friend. It is now his pleasure to befriend Mr. GLADSTONE, and he speaks of Mr. GLADSTONE in the handsomest way. It is not for him in his old age, it is for Mr. GLADSTONE, in the prime of life and in the full possession of all his powers, to lead in the attack on the Irish Church. Aware that some doubt might still linger in the minds of his followers whether Mr. GLADSTONE or he is to be considered henceforth the leader of the Liberal party, he makes over to Mr. GLADSTONE such claims to the leadership as he may be thought to possess, and in the frankest and most cordial manner he installs Mr. GLADSTONE as the leader of the party. Lord RUSSELL has always been a good friend. Although a dangerous and slippery colleague, and cut off from a living knowledge of the world by his distaste for general society, he is yet a warm friend where he is a friend at all. His desire to aid his relations in their very proper ambition to rise in different branches of the public service has always amounted to a passion, and he is even ready, as he showed in the case of the Bishop of Hereford, to encounter obloquy and opposition rather than not do a man a good turn when his fancy bids him do it. It is quite in accordance with his previous career that, having made up his mind to behave in a friendly manner to Mr. GLADSTONE, he should have erred rather on the side of extravagance in the terms of admiration which he bestows on his friend. The reputation of being a good friend is one of great value to a party leader. It knits to him men who do not in the least aspire to his friendship, and even some of those who object to the form in which the friendship is occasionally exhibited. If we remember that Lord RUSSELL has been, after his kind, a sensible and yet determined Liberal for a longer term than any other public man now alive, that he is a pugnacious opponent, that he is a warm friend, and that he is the son of a Duke, we shall probably come to the conclusion that he has been reasonably entitled to the leadership which, happily for himself and every one else, he has now resigned.

But he is, and always has been, singularly deficient in judgment. He has never really understood his party, and has always been creating more difficulties than he has removed. What is the upshot of his farewell pamphlet? It is that the Liberal party under Mr. GLADSTONE should at once, in the present Session, without losing a day, begin a fierce and determined attack on the Irish Church. He will not hear of waiting another Session. He is for immediate action. Lord STANLEY talked of waiting a little to see what should be done for Ireland. This policy was but a Bristol stone, while Lord RUSSELL wants to give the public the real diamond. And an uncommonly curious sort of gem it is that he offers. He wants Mr. GLADSTONE all of a sudden to make up his mind what is to be done with the revenues of the Irish Church, to commit his party to the advocacy of this particular scheme, and to force it upon the House of Commons and the Ministry. No advice could be more disastrous, and it is only innocuous because it is wholly out of the power of Mr. GLADSTONE to follow it even if he wished. Far from helping his friend by this pamphlet, he would be doing him the greatest harm if its publication should lead the world to suppose that Mr. GLADSTONE means seriously to do as he is advised. As an amusement of the study, and as affording an opportunity of taunting the Tories with their readiness to be converted in a moment to anything, a pamphlet recommending an immediate attack on the Irish Church is harmless enough; but in real life the policy it recommends would necessarily fail. Lord RUSSELL has got it into his head that the business of the leader of the Opposition is to be always springing a succession of little mines under the feet of the Ministry. If a leader does this, the rest of the party will, he believes, enter willingly into the fun and join in the scheme; and then, if any mine explodes harmlessly, the party and its leader are only where they were; and if the mine blows up the Ministry, then all is joy and jollity. No conception of political life can be more futile and unreal. A party and its leader which, when in Opposition, is constantly making ineffectual little attacks on a Ministry, by no means stays as it is. On the contrary, it is continually losing ground and reputation. If Lord RUSSELL could learn anything from experience adverse to himself, he might have learnt thus much from the summary manner in which his numerous Resolutions in the House of Lords have



been snubbed alike by his friends and his enemies. It is to be observed that Lord RUSSELL does not propose that Mr. GLADSTONE should force on a change of Ministry, and then propound Lord RUSSELL's scheme for dealing with the Irish Church with the weight and responsibility of a Premier, but he is merely to announce it in the Commons. Mr. DISRAELI is instantly to adopt it, and the Tories are to rush through another rapid conversion and sanction it without debate. The very reason which Lord RUSSELL assigns for getting the matter carried through in this Session is that in the next Parliament the Tories may not be so pliable. There is only one word we can find for all this. It is absolutely childish. Supposing Mr. DISRAELI does not yield, but stands upon the ground that time for further discussion ought to be given, and that so important a matter ought not to be decided by a moribund Parliament. Would the House be with him or against him on this preliminary point? Most decidedly it would be with him. Individual members have not made up their minds what to do with the Irish Church, and what is of much more importance they know that their constituents have not made up their minds, so that they do not know what line it will be safest to take. It also seems a proper compliment to the residuum now admitted to the franchise to wait to know what are its peculiar views as to Ireland; and members will be very glad to pay this compliment, since, for other reasons, it is convenient to wait. The consequence of Mr. GLADSTONE taking his kind friend's advice would not be to damage either the Irish Church or the Ministry, but to endanger still more seriously than it is endangered at present his leadership of his party.

Nothing is more striking, in the whole of Lord RUSSELL's pamphlet, than the ignorance it betrays of the real state of the Liberal party. Any one who read it and did not know the recent history of English politics would imagine, as Lord RUSSELL evidently imagines, that if a scheme is proposed by Lord RUSSELL and adopted by Mr. GLADSTONE it forthwith becomes the creed of the party to which they belong, and will be warmly supported by the votes and speeches of the party as a body. There is not a shadow of truth in this assumption. The Liberal party is difficult to lead, and becomes more difficult every year to lead, because its members insist on thinking for themselves, and because Liberalism means such a vast variety of things, and ranges from Socialism to a feeble preference for Whig landowners. To give six-eighths of the revenues of the Irish Church to the Catholics may be a bad thing or a good thing, but it is a proposal to which the bulk of the Liberal party are by no means prepared to commit themselves. It is true that in the course of time the Liberals will have to assume a distinct attitude towards Ireland and the Irish Church, and that, when that time is come, individual members of the party will feel themselves obliged to waive their own private inclinations, and to go with their party, if its policy towards Ireland is at all to their taste. But how will the general policy of the party be settled? By the adoption of a cut-and-dry scheme emanating from Lord RUSSELL and Mr. GLADSTONE? Most certainly not. Mr. GLADSTONE is entirely powerless unless he acts in concert with a considerable number of men with whom Lord RUSSELL's recommendations are of no intrinsic value whatever. Mr. GLADSTONE, if he is to carry great measures, must have the support of the Whig landowners, but he must also have the support of Mr. BRIGHT, Mr. MILL, and Mr. LOWE. Men who have minds so independent, who have achieved so high a Parliamentary position, and who are so indispensable to a strong Liberal Ministry, must exercise their influence in the preparation of any great measure of which they are asked to share the responsibility. If they were in the same Cabinet with Mr. GLADSTONE, they might each have to give up something of what they wished to see carried, but they would aid in framing a general scheme to which they would all adhere. But while they and Mr. GLADSTONE are in Opposition, such a conference and admixture of opinions and views is impossible. Thus we are brought round to the very obvious conclusion that it is the Ministry, not the Opposition, that ought to deal with the Irish Church, whereas what Lord RUSSELL wants is exactly the reverse. He wishes that the Opposition should introduce the measure, and control its whole scheme and scope, and that the Ministry should only be official instruments for turning it into an Act of Parliament. This will never do, and if this had been the way in which the engineers had made the road in Abyssinia, the donkeys and mules would be still drinking condensed water in Annesley Bay.

## IRELAND.

LORD MAYO discharged with much propriety the formal duty of moving for a renewed Habeas Corpus Suspension Bill. On such occasions a Minister ought always to express a decorous aversion to the remedy, while, in common with the House, he really laments the prevalence of the disease. The writ of *habeas corpus*, or rather the constitutional theory of which it is the result, operates in the United Kingdom, and in the British Empire even where the writ itself is temporarily suspended. On the Continent imprisonment is ordinarily used for preventive purposes, or as a mode of procuring evidence of guilt; and, in the various democratic revolutions which have been attempted or effected, security against the infringement of personal liberty has almost always been forgotten in the list of projected reforms. During the American civil war the writ of *habeas corpus* was suspended in the Northern States, where there was no suspicion of treasonable plots or of internal disturbance. An ostentatious conspiracy for the subversion of government and the confiscation of property in Ireland has rendered it necessary to arm the local authorities with the power of arresting dangerous persons. In the course of the year there has been one attempt at open insurrection; there have been numerous attacks on policemen; and organized bodies in America, encouraged by the professed sympathy of high public functionaries, have repeatedly announced impending invasions and rebellions in Ireland. Seditious processions, incendiary publications, and religious services held in honour of convicted murderers, have maintained constant uneasiness, and effectually checked the revival of prosperity; yet in the year 1867, and in the first month of 1868, only 265 persons were detained in custody under the exceptional powers of the Government; and, if the arrests caused by the outbreak in March are deducted, there remain 154. Of the whole number of 265, fifty have been prosecuted to conviction, and there must therefore have been evidence on which they could have been apprehended in the ordinary course of law. The number of those who have been acquitted is not stated, but at present only ninety-six prisoners are detained under the Act. Even the organs of Irish disaffection, and the political prelates who affect in the same breath to condemn the Fenians and the English Government and nation, abstain from accusing the LORD-LIEUTENANT and his advisers of severity in the discharge of their duties. The temper and moderation which have been displayed exercise an influence over the most zealous apologists of the Manchester murderers, and Mr. MAGUIRE's paper actually advises the Fenians not to use revolvers against isolated policemen, on the ground that the cause of the Fenians themselves may be damaged by gratuitous assassination. As Mr. G. F. TRAIN was arrested in January, his name is included in Lord MAYO's list, although the Irish Government found, on inquiry, that no danger was to be apprehended from his designs. There are probably a few more instances of similar mistakes; and yet it may be safely affirmed that no other civilized Government would, in a time of public danger, allow a foreign charlatan to traverse the country with impunity, for the purpose of delivering impertinent speeches against the national institutions. No Englishman would find it possible to perpetrate similar follies in the United States, in France, or in Prussia; but Ireland, even when the Habeas Corpus Act is suspended, enjoys the liberty and the license which have long been traditional in England.

America has contributed more than one-third of the conspirators who have been imprisoned at the discretion of the Government, and some of these victims of cosmopolitan patriotism are the citizens who are said, in numerous petitions and speeches, to be now languishing in British dungeons. General SICKLES, lately addressing a large audience in support of the claims of General GRANT to the Presidency, asserted that the dissensions between Mr. JOHNSON and the Congress were the cause of the neglect of the Government to demand the surrender of the Fenian prisoners; and similar pretensions to interfere with the administration of law in England and Ireland have been repeatedly avowed in the House of Representatives and in the Senate. One of the reasons for approving the suspension of the Habeas Corpus consists in the answer which is provided to the extravagant claims of American politicians. The Fenian adventurers from the United States are either English subjects or foreigners, and in either capacity they are equally amenable to the laws which are for the time in force. Where any person may be legally arrested on suspicion, there is no ground for remonstrance against a special exercise of the discretion of the Government. As usual, the Americans have

furnished precedents which might, if they were sound, justify far more arbitrary interference with the liberty of foreigners. Down to the Secession, coloured English subjects arriving as sailors at the port of Charleston were habitually detained in prison, under the law of South Carolina, as long as their vessels remained in port; and, in answer to numerous remonstrances, the Federal Government declared that it had no power to interfere with the execution of the law. The restraint imposed on a few Americans, suspected on reasonable grounds of treasonable purposes, would be considered by an impartial judge more equitable than the imprisonment of unoffending foreign negroes.

LORD MAYO's analysis of the professions and occupations of the Fenian prisoners is, to a certain extent, satisfactory. Only 11 out of 265 are occupiers of land, and it is probable that few of the American adventurers have formerly belonged to the class of farmers. LORD DUFFERIN has shown that only about two per cent. of recent emigrants have been tenants of land, and if the sons of emigrant farmers are included in the calculation, the proportion would still not exceed four or five per cent. In the great majority of cases, tenants giving up their holdings have been assisted by their landlords to emigrate, and in many instances they have professed entire satisfaction with the arrangements made for their comfort. Hundreds of emigrants of the same class have returned, after saving money in America, to become prosperous occupiers of farms large enough to provide them with comfortable subsistence, or, with less advantage to the community, to become petty landlords. Only in a very small number of cases has emigration been caused by the cruelty or cupidity of the landowner, and the resentment against England which is undoubtedly cherished has been mainly caused by agitation. If any considerable number of Irish Americans wished to recover their former holdings by force, they would encounter the uncompromising hostility of the present occupiers of the land. Disaffection in Ireland amalgamates with American animosity, but the malcontents on the spot have little in common with their instigators and ringleaders. The measures which are proposed by various parties for the redress of Irish grievances might possibly have reconciled the eleven farmers who have been arrested to the institutions of their country, and it is barely imaginable that political and ecclesiastical changes would convert some of the rebel clerks and artisans into loyal subjects; but the ninety-six visitors from America would not have found that the blustering hostility of which they have made themselves exponents would be mitigated by any possible concession. The Irish in the United States probably first cultivated hostility to England for the purpose of acquiring political influence in a community which has professed the same sentiments from the time when it attained independent existence. Under the influence of unscrupulous and ignorant leaders, the Irish citizens and immigrants have gradually taught themselves to believe that they were victims of oppression, and it unfortunately happened that the obsolete penal laws gave a colour to charges which in their own cases were flagrantly unjust. It was not until they had ceased to suffer persecution that the Irish Roman Catholics thought of emigrating.

In the last century, while the more enterprising Protestants sometime sought a home in America, the inhabitants of the South and West clung obstinately to their homes, and the pressure of population had not yet become strong enough to overcome their tenacious resistance to change. The emigration which has produced Fenianism as one of its results dates from the famine of 1845 and 1846, which in its turn was caused by the fixity of tenure generally established in Ireland during the previous generation. Estates let on lease for sixty or eighty years were extravagantly sub-divided, and the cultivation of potatoes rendered it possible to subsist on a little patch of land. The failure of the national food necessarily caused a universal collapse, and the great material improvement which has since been attained is not yet commonly recognised. The reduction of population which was absolutely indispensable in the absence of extensive commerce and manufacturing industry unluckily happens to be injurious to the Roman Catholic clergy; but the Fenians, as such, have no definite grievances, and their policy is limited to the gratification of revenge, or rather of wanton hatred. It would seem, from LORD MAYO's statistics, that their hold on the sympathies of the people is neither firm nor widely extended, although it would be idle to pretend that there is no disaffection in Ireland. If the present agitation can be suppressed or tided over, the conspirators of ten or twenty years hence will probably be even less successful. By that time some apparent wrongs will be redressed, and if

tranquillity is maintained the prosperity of Ireland will almost certainly have increased. One of the greatest impediments to the improvement of the country is the growing readiness of politicians to adopt the quack contrivances against which LORD STANLEY lately protested. The arbitrary transfer of property, however unjust, may at some times and in some countries increase the national wealth by the substitution of thrifty cultivators for careless landlords; but, unless Irish nature suddenly changes, the confiscation of Irish property would at once reproduce the economical condition which culminated in the famine. MR. BRIGHT's more moderate experiment would produce little effect, because sellers at present have no difficulty in finding purchasers, at high prices, for small plots of land. The difficulty is, not to break up estates, but to convert occupiers into owners; and in the absence of stringent legislation the little village capitalist will outbid the small farmer for the sake of becoming a petty landlord. If the Fenians would allow the investment of capital in Ireland, exclusive reliance on the land as the means of support would gradually disappear.

#### THE SCOTCH REFORM BILL.

NO one on this side of the Tweed can pretend to feel any great interest in the Scotch Reform Bill. It raises no question of principle, and the questions which it does raise in the anxious minds of Scotch members are of too local a character to awaken much emotion in Southern breasts. The main feature in the Bill is, of course, the reduction of the franchise, and in all essential points the Bill on this head follows the precedent of the English Act of last Session. A rating household suffrage in boroughs, and a 12*l.* rating qualification in counties, are its leading features. One or two Scotch members raised the familiar objection to what used at one time to be called the principle of making the personal payments of rates essential. These objections are excellent objections in themselves. No one now affects to think that the payment of rates carries any principle with it, and if the rating clauses of the English Act give any annoyance to electors, or interfere in any serious way with the social arrangements of the inhabitants of boroughs, they may be swept away by a new Parliament. But it is not to be supposed that the battle of last Session is to be fought over again this Session for the sake of the Scotch. Rating clauses have been thought good enough for England, and so they must do, for the moment, for Scotland also. Theoretically, it seems absurd to create an artificial impediment to the franchise which we know to be fruitful of petty annoyances, and which cannot exist for more than a very short time. But if the Scotch wish for a Reform Bill this Session, they must be content with what the present House of Commons will give them, and it certainly will not give them what it refused to England. Whether the Scotch have a Reform Bill or not this Session is really of very little importance, for they know that they can always have one whenever they are inclined to put themselves on the same footing with Englishmen. They may, if they please, wait until the rating clauses are abolished in England, and probably their patience would not be very severely tried. The effects of a Reform Bill in Scotland will, it may be expected, be very insignificant. All the boroughs, with scarcely any exception, not only return Liberals, but staunch Liberals, not troubled with crotchets, and steady, ardent supporters of their party, whether in office or out. The lowering of the borough franchise will perhaps scarcely affect the seat of a single Scotch member. The counties will still return Conservatives where the great landlords happen to be of the opinions of the present Government. It is, therefore, for the sake of symmetry, rather than with the view of working any great practical change, that a Reform Bill for Scotland is proposed. In a calm, phlegmatic way, however, the Scotch seem to wish for a Reform Bill, and they are assured by all their representatives that they are far more fit for the exercise of political power than the English are. If so, let them have their Reform Bill by all means, and the measure meted out to England last year shall be meted out to them without grudging this year.

All this is so obvious, that the whole discussion turned on what MR. DISRAELI termed the minor details of the Bill. There was nothing else to discuss; and as Scotch members could scarcely receive a Scotch Reform Bill in perfect silence, they naturally talked about the portions of the Bill which really afforded matter for debate. And even on what, comparatively speaking, may be termed trivial points, there is, when the interests of individuals and localities are affected, a great deal



to say. The Scotch assert that they are entitled to more members than they have at present. Twenty-five was the figure at which they first put their proper increase, but their claims have now dwindled down to fifteen. The Government offers them seven, and out of this offer arise the two questions, whether these additional seven seats are to be gained by increasing the members of the House, or by disfranchising English boroughs; and secondly, whether the Government has hit on the right scheme of distributing these seven seats when the mode of their creation has been decided. Mr. DISRAELI says that he considers it impossible to persuade Englishmen to let the seven seats be taken from England, and given to Scotland. So the number of the House must be increased, or the Scotch will practically fail to get any more representatives. Mr. GLADSTONE, in what Mr. SMOLLETT called his "progress through the Palatinate," expressed a contrary opinion, and pronounced it to be far preferable that the requisite number of seats should be taken from English boroughs. It appears to us a question on which two divergent opinions may be very fairly and sensibly entertained. But, directly Reform comes in any way on the field, all perception that there are many minor points on which honest men may differ seems to be totally forgotten. It was with something of a sneer that Mr. GLADSTONE's "progress through the Palatinate" was spoken of. What is meant by this? Mr. GLADSTONE is one of the foremost, if not the foremost, man in English public life, and he represents a very important constituency. Why should he not be at liberty to visit the chief towns of the county division which he represents; and why should he not say, if he pleases, that it is better not to increase the unwieldy numbers of the House, but to satisfy Scotland at the expense of the tiny decaying boroughs of Southern England? The very people who join in the sneer at Mr. GLADSTONE are the first to oppose any dissent from their own crotchets. Mr. GRAHAM, who raised such great hopes two years ago, sinks at once to a mediocre poor creature when he ventures to say that the principle of the representation of minorities by giving a third member, according to the scheme adopted last year, should not be extended to Scotland. It is idle to talk in this way. Much is to be said for, and much is to be said against, both the giving a special representative to the minority of large towns and the increasing the House of Commons. Of course, on these as on all other questions of practical politics, it is necessary to form an opinion one way or the other. We think that the scheme adopted last year for the representation of minorities was a mistake, and that the best way to satisfy Scotland is to increase the numbers of the House. But they are both points on which no one but a bigot, or a politician longing to rise out of obscurity by crowing louder than other people, can pretend to have an opinion which experience and arguments will not shake. Mr. DISRAELI in matters of this kind always shows tact and good sense. He is against special representation of minorities, and he says so distinctly, but he does not insist on his opinion, and he lets Mr. GRAHAM know that he should be glad if the House could be persuaded to exempt Scotland from the operation of the system. He does not much like increasing the numbers of the House, but he tells the Scotch that this is the only chance they have of getting more representatives. This is the real way of putting it. If the Scotch want seven new members this Session, they will have, we guess, to accept the proposal of the Government; if they wish to have a third member for Glasgow, the Lords will probably bargain that this third member shall represent the minority of Glasgow electors.

The mode of distributing the seats thus offered stands on a different footing. Mr. DISRAELI distinctly says that he does not care how they are distributed. If the Scotch members dislike the scheme proposed, and can persuade the House to adopt their views, he will be perfectly willing to acquiesce in any decision which may be arrived at. The questions are not very abstruse, and we hope the Scotch will decide them exactly as they think best. In the first place, two seats are to be given to the Scotch Universities. Is this a good plan? So far as Englishmen can venture to pronounce an opinion on so small and local a matter, we should think that two members for the Scotch Universities is rather a large allowance. It is not, perhaps, more than they ought to have; but it is a large proportion to allot them out of seven seats at the disposal of Parliament. Then three of the more populous counties are to have each an additional member. This appears, at first sight, to be modelled on the plan of increasing the county representation, which formed so conspicuous, and so just and reasonable, an element in the English Reform Bill of last year. But then Scotch counties are not really like English counties. There is a county in Scotland which

has fewer inhabitants than a fourth-rate English borough, and there is a county in Scotland which is little else than the big park of one nobleman. To increase the representatives of the populous counties without diminishing the representatives of the minor counties is a very questionable proposal. Further, a most extraordinary constituency is to be formed by grouping a great number of small towns, somewhere near the Clyde, with a total population of seventy thousand. Not one Englishman in a thousand has ever heard of any one of their names, and we cannot, therefore, affect to judge of their pretensions, or to estimate how they would like being jumbled together in such a very big basket. But Mr. GLADSTONE was the author of the last great scheme of grouping, and perhaps this project of the Government is only meant to reduce the system of grouping to its last term of absurdity. Lastly, two or three towns are to be taken out of counties, and added to existing groups. To this the Scotch members make the familiar objection that the counties will thus be stripped of their urban element, and handed over completely to the big landowners. Assuming the facts to be true, as stated by the objectors, their objection seems to us perfectly valid. Mr. DISRAELI may be right in saying that the change is not proposed from any party motive, and that it is not designed to make safe the seats of Conservative county members. This may be so, but still the change in itself is not less to be deprecated. The urban element is the living, moving element in Scotch political life, and it would be a great pity if the counties were deprived more than they now are of its vivifying influences. The very same question has been raised and settled in England, and we have decided that we will not have our counties stripped of the voters who live in the smaller towns. The arguments that hold good for us will equally hold good for the Scotch, and on this head we hope the Government will be made to give way. It is a comfort to know beforehand, on Mr. DISRAELI's authority, that it will give way readily and with a good grace.

#### AMERICA.

SOME premature uneasiness has been caused by the announcement that both the President of the UNITED STATES and the Congress were meditating hostile demonstrations against England. It is said that the PRESIDENT has unofficially announced his intention of once more pressing the Alabama claims, and, if his authority were as great as that of some of his predecessors, there would be reason, were the rumour well-founded, to apprehend an immediate rupture; but the PRESIDENT cannot make war without the concurrence of the Senate, and in practice he must also secure the support of the House of Representatives. The courteous language addressed to Mr. THORNTON at his formal reception throws some doubt on the reported intentions of the PRESIDENT, and there is always a strong presumption against the adoption by a responsible Government of a culpable and unwise policy. After Lord STANLEY's offer to refer the Alabama claims to arbitration, a demand of unconditional payment which must necessarily be refused would be a mere pretext for the commencement of the most wanton and wicked war of modern times. Every tolerably intelligent American knows that in the whole of England not one human being desires a quarrel with the United States. All reasonable concessions, as in the matter of the allegiance of naturalized citizens, are generally approved; and it is only when the national honour is at stake that the country refuses to incur voluntary humiliation. With few exceptions, the feeling of England has always been friendly and fair to America; and, with few exceptions, the popular language of Americans has for several generations been bitterly hostile to England. If courtesy and good faith should ultimately produce no impression, it would only remain to accept a challenge which would have been offered from pure malignity. An American invasion of the Dominion of Canada might possibly be successful, in spite of all the efforts of England to resist it, but there is no other quarter in which a contest might not be maintained on equal or favourable terms. The consciousness that right was wholly on our side would reconcile patriotic Englishmen to unavoidable sacrifices. Whatever may be the designs or the professions of the PRESIDENT, Congress has thus far given no countenance to the suspicion that the majority meditates a hostile policy. A Mr. ROBINSON, who represents a Fenian constituency in New York, lately tendered to the House of Representatives a series of blustering Resolutions, directing the PRESIDENT to require the release of certain prisoners in

Ireland, and, on a refusal of the demand, to arrest all British subjects in the United States, and to discontinue intercourse with England. The social and intellectual qualifications of Mr. ROBINSON may be inferred from his use of the ancient imagery of the British lion and the American eagle. He complained that "the bird which should soar was in the gutter, below the ignoble foot that trampled on it." As an American writer observes, Mr. ROBINSON appears to have confounded the lion with the elephant; and, to the credit of his colleagues, the House seems to have silenced him as soon as it was possible to repress his eloquence. Mr. BINGHAM and Mr. BANKS explained that independent countries exercise jurisdiction over offences committed within their boundaries, and they objected to a proposal which would have conferred on the PRESIDENT unqualified power to declare war. The Resolutions were eventually shelved by reference to the Committee on Foreign Affairs; and, according to Mr. ROBINSON, the vindication of the rights of American citizens was delayed "until eternity's bell rang," which is perhaps the Fenian equivalent of the Day of Judgment. That there is a risk of war must be admitted, but it is useless and unwise to exaggerate the danger. English writers and speakers will best promote the cause for which they are without exception anxious, by endeavouring on all suitable occasions to dispel the strange delusions which have taken possession of the American imagination. An appeal to reason may be more effective, as it is less degrading, than a false and timid confession of pretended error.

The menaces which are from time to time uttered by politicians, and even by high public functionaries, would be more alarming if they were supported by warlike preparations; but there is at present no proposal for increasing the army, and Congress has approved the sale of a portion of the ironclad fleet. Fenian orators, indeed, offer the Government the services of a hundred thousand men for a war against England; but in real warfare the provision of arms, of supplies, of pay, and of bounties must be defrayed by the Federal Treasury. The pressure of taxation is severely felt, and Congress seems at last to have turned its serious attention to retrenchment. The adoption of the scheme proposed by Mr. WELLS would render practicable the repeal of the taxes on manufactures, and the House of Representatives will probably attend to the loud and not unreasonable complaints of the manufacturers. It is obvious that a war would not only make a reduction of expenditure impossible, but that it would entail on the community a new and heavy burden of taxation. The present revenue is only sufficient, in default of retrenchment, to meet the ordinary expenditure and the interest of the debt, and the entire burden of a war would fall upon resources which must be provided for the purpose. It must also be remembered that the Customs' receipts would be largely reduced by a maritime war, and that it would therefore be necessary to rely on fresh internal taxation. If the national honour or interests were involved in a foreign quarrel, means would be found for prosecuting the struggle; but the promoters of an entirely gratuitous rupture would incur universal condemnation as soon as the fiscal effects of the war were generally felt.

Political partisans on both sides are attempting to inflict a heavy blow on the credit of the Union, and, if they succeed, it will for many years be out of the power of the American Government to contract a loan. The advocates of the discharge of the Five-Twenty Bonds by payment in paper currency might as well have professed the simpler doctrine of repudiation. They are fully aware that, if the parties to the contract had anticipated their new-fangled interpretation, the Government would not have been able to raise a dollar in the market, or to place an army in the field against the Confederates. The quibble that the express provision for the payment of the interest in gold excluded any similar undertaking with respect to the principal is notoriously inconsistent with the history of the transaction. The first Act of Congress for the issue of Five-Twenty Bonds was passed in February, 1862, when the only paper currency consisted of sixty millions of dollars in notes which were at the time at par. By the same Act the creation of a hundred and fifty millions of greenbacks was authorized; and by two subsequent Acts—of July, 1862, and January, 1863—the amount was raised to four hundred and fifty millions. If the issue which was contemporaneous with the loan had been the whole amount of legal tender currency, there would have been no serious rise in the nominal price of gold, and no temptation to pay the national creditor in a depreciated substitute for specie. The brokers who negotiated the Five-Twenty Bonds formally applied to Mr. CHASE, the Secretary of the Treasury, for an assurance that the principal of the loan was payable in gold. Mr. CHASE,

with the full knowledge of Congress, publicly answered the question in the affirmative; and, in the case of a private contract, it would be absurd to repudiate the undertaking of a recognised and official agent. It may be, indeed, contended that a written document admits of no interpretation by parole; but, if it were consistent with the dignity of a great nation to raise such an objection, it might be answered that the literal tenor of the bonds is amply sufficient to support the claim of the holder to payment in specie. A promise to pay a dollar is not a promise to renew a promise by the payment of a promissory note. In good faith the assurance given by the SECRETARY of the TREASURY was absolutely binding, and the pledge was adopted by Congress when it subsequently sanctioned an excess in the amount of bonds which had been inadvertently issued.

It is easy to prove that, if all questions of honour and morality were set aside, a wealthy nation gains more than it loses by the costliest observance of good faith; but the better class of American politicians deserve credit for opposing direct or indirect repudiation on the ground, not that it is inexpedient, but that it would be a public disgrace. There are, perhaps, comparatively few sound political economists in the United States, although the free-traders maintain a gallant contest with the advocates of protection and prohibition; but the issue raised by the repudiators is one rather of honesty than of science. If there was no probability that loans would be required hereafter, the transfer of some hundreds of millions sterling from the rightful owners to the taxpayer would be a profitable transaction; but the opponents of the scheme hold that calculation has nothing to do with keeping or breaking a promise. Avowed repudiation would in some respects please the American fancy better than the evasion of paying a debt in depreciated currency. There is an appearance of boldness and originality in a direct defiance of opinion and justice, but it is not worth while to fritter away the reputation of a great country. It is impossible to conjecture the future value of greenbacks if the return to specie payments is deferred till 1882. Congress has prohibited further contraction; it has authorised an additional issue of obligations; and it has not pledged itself against indefinite expansion. With the value of gold constantly declining, and with the population and resources of the country still more rapidly increasing, it would not be difficult to raise the paper currency to the value of gold in four or five years. A war with England would lead to the issue of vast masses of irredeemable paper, and the consequent disturbance of prices would cause great confusion. There is happily little reason to fear that American statesmen will wildly add to the not inconsiderable embarrassments of their actual position.

#### THE BRIBERY BILL.

IT has of late become the fashion to say that a good Bribery Bill is impossible. Purists despair of the republic. Misfortune after misfortune happens to all the schemes suggested in the House; and the ingenuity of Mr. DISRAELI has not yet succeeded in producing a project which is satisfactory. Everybody knows that Parliament is in a position of no little difficulty for legislating on the subject. There are two great evils connected with the present electoral machinery; and though many men on both sides of the House are honestly anxious to do their best to remedy them, it is natural that the task should be full of perplexities. The first evil is the monstrous system of paid agency; which is productive of illimitable corruption, and indefensible on any political theory, since members of Parliament are supposed by the Constitution to be returned in the interest of their constituents, and not in their own. We do not acquiesce in the idle and offensive nonsense so often talked about the insincerity of Parliament where bribery is concerned. On the other hand, members of Parliament are not angels, and they cannot but feel a delicacy about upsetting at a blow the entire organization that has given most of them their seats. If once they begin to discuss paid agency, where are they to end? There is a hierarchy, which administers the system of corruption, as complete and powerful as if it were the hierarchy of a national church. Its centre is in the London political clubs, with their hangers-on, their *amés damneés*, and those numerous and hungry tools who live by serving a party. Its leading officers are wealthy, clever, influential lawyers, who pull the strings of provincial elections, select candidates, and introduce them to the right people; its executive is spread over all England, down to the smallest country town. It is not too much to say that the occu-



pation of returning members to Parliament is one of the most lucrative employments in which a town or country attorney can engage, and even barristers attain to wealth, if not to honour, by lending their assistance. The House can no more cope with this, without a painful effort, than the Emperor of the French can grapple with his Catholic clergy. The second crying evil is the inefficiency of the tribunal at present delegated by Parliament to try election petitions. The machinery for unseating members is as bad, or nearly as bad, as the machinery for seating them. It is cumbrous, expensive, ineffectual. Justice is occasionally done, though very occasionally, and when it is done, it is generally owing to a happy accident. What is Parliament to do? The House does not wish to resign its own prerogatives to any except the highest Court of Justice in the land. The Judges, on the other hand, are clearly right in thinking that the less they have to say to trying election petitions the better.

It is no part of our business to suggest measures; but it is well for every one to understand what are the leading principles which any Bribery Bill, to be of use, ought to endeavour to carry out. They may with advantage at this time be recapitulated. The first *sine quâ non* of a good Bill is that it should provide for local inquiry on the spot where bribery is alleged to have taken place, instead of retaining the present Parliamentary inquiry, the expenditure on which is ruinous, and often useless. The second thing needful is that the evidence in such local inquiries should be obtained by men whose business in life it is to obtain evidence. The third is that the investigation should be an inquiry, and not a hybrid lawsuit, in which the opposing parties are left to conduct their respective plans of offence and defence on technical and litigious principles. No better illustration of the mischief of the existing system can be afforded than that referred to by Sir MICHAEL BEACH last week. After the last general election there was a petition against the return for a little borough in the South of England which has been for years a hotbed of pecuniary profligacy. It went before a fairly constituted Committee, presided over by an admirable chairman. The battle was conducted according to the axioms of strict science. One of the members was in the end unseated, and a Bribery Commission went down in the autumn to root out the abuses of the borough. What was the result? They found, on examination, that the state of the miserable little constituency was far worse than imagination could have conceived. All the candidates at the election had been mixed up in the corruption, but, strange to say, the one act of bribery that had not been committed was the supposed act for which the Election Committee had unseated a sitting member. The explanation is instructive and notorious. The member in question, though innocent of the special sin, had not dared to go into the box as a witness to contradict the charge, lest he should, on examination, unseat both himself and his colleague. The worthless evidence against him remained uncontradicted, and the Election Committee were not to blame if they decided upon the *prima facie* case that had been made out. The mistake was the fault, not of the individual members of the tribunal, but of the system.

Any inquiry that is to be effective must differ from that now adopted, in the particulars in which the Totnes Bribery Commission differed from the Totnes Election Committee. It must operate on the spot, and, like a Bribery Commission, take the management of the investigation out of the hands of counsel and attorneys into its own. All the candidates, and all their agents, ought at the very outset to be thoroughly cross-examined on the whole nature and history of their relations to the borough. It ought not to be left to the parties interested to litigate the matter as if they were at *Nisi Prius*, to refrain from calling witnesses that would be inconvenient, or to throw on the opposite counsel the responsibility of calling them. If necessary, every one in the constituency might be summoned before the Judge or the Commissioner; and every book, paper, and document extracted from them that can by possibility throw light on the business. The theory that truth is best arrived at by the ordinary procedure of a *Nisi Prius* trial, plausible as it is, is not true in regard to bribery. The rules of evidence cannot on such occasions be observed, for what is wanted to start with is not so much evidence as information. The Court that sits has to detect, and not merely to try, offences. It requires hints, suggestions, threads, clues; something to follow up and to work upon. The Judges of the land would be by no means the best tribunal for the business. Somebody should preside who will, if necessary, be able to sit a week rather than be foiled, and be rather a public prosecutor than a judge. At this point we are met

with the objection of the sensitiveness of the House. It is reluctant to give up to such a Court or Commission its privilege of deciding on the validity of a return. The jealousy is natural, and we are not sure that it is not sound. On the other hand, it is not easy to see why the two objects should not be reconciled. Why should it not be possible to combine local inquiry with Parliamentary supervision? Why should not all the evidence taken on the spot be printed and returned to the House, leaving to the dissatisfied candidate against whom the local Commission had pronounced the option of appealing, in the last resort, to Parliament? We are told that this would double the expense, because an appeal would always be presented. We doubt the fact exceedingly. Which of the members condemned by the last Commissions would have ventured to appeal in the face of a damning blue-book? Would Mr. PENDER at Totnes, or Mr. SCHNEIDER at Lancaster, have appealed? If they had, they would have been more foolish men than we believe the ordinary run of members of Parliament to be. A local inquiry, vigorously prosecuted under the direction of two or three acute barristers, would generally settle the whole affair. Surely some such scheme could be devised for saving the prerogative of Parliament, and at the same time guaranteeing an inflexible and rigid local investigation.

A Bribery Bill which did no more than elaborate such a measure as has been suggested would do much to stopping corruption. Yet it might go further still. If it be really impossible to prohibit all paid agency, and to scotch the snake at once, at all events more efficient checks might be provided upon electoral expenditure. At present the law is a mere farce. The published accounts are continually cooked, and a system of evasion has been devised by which bills are not paid till after all danger of a petition is over. In addition to this, there are endless customary tolls demanded of and regularly paid both by candidates and members; such as registration expenses, charities, and subscriptions, all of which, if not corrupt themselves, distinctly foster a spirit of corruption in the constituency. There is no earthly reason why all direct and indirect expenditure of the kind should not be proscribed. It is perfectly true that all laws can be evaded by the exercise of due ingenuity. But that does not prove that there ought never to be any laws at all. Statutory prohibitions would do something. They would put down, at any rate, a percentage of corrupt transactions, and that is all any reasonable person can ever expect them to effect. We all know that indirect influences will exist; like the poor, they are always in the midst of us; places will be asked for and given improperly, tenants will be coerced, shopkeepers intimidated, thrifty and needy people hired or bought. The extent of the evil ought not to induce us to fling up our hands in despair of any moderate remedy. Nor is there any sound reason why all political or gratuitous payments by a member of Parliament in his borough should not be made illegal. Exuberant charity might easily be required to find some other channel into which to discharge itself than the pockets of constituents, or the coffers of their public institutions. We should not even complain if every member of Parliament, on taking his seat, were to make a declaration that he neither had contributed nor would contribute, directly or indirectly, any sum of money, by himself or his agents, for any political or charitable object in his borough. Solemn declarations in general are mischievous, but, if ever any were tolerable, it would be a declaration of this kind.

There is one provision, often suggested as an essential part of any Bribery Bill, about the expediency of which there may be real question. All the expenses of an election might fairly be saddled on the constituency, but the policy of inflicting on it the cost of election petitions or Bribery Commissions is open to great doubt. It might possibly discourage bribery. We fear it would certainly discourage its detection. Thenceforward it would be the distinct interest of the borough, not to contest seats, but to make corrupt compromises in respect of them. Those who know what the little shopkeepers and ratepayers of towns, especially of small towns, are, are aware of the influence that would be brought to bear on them to silence all inquiry and complaint if the rates of the borough were to be burdened with heavy fines. Too much stress may be laid in a Bribery Bill on the punishment to be inflicted. The great difficulty in corruption is not to punish it, but to prove it. Penalties go a very little way unless the machinery for exposure is first adjusted; and, indeed, exaggerated penalties defeat their own object. Attempts to crush bribery by Draconian sentences of deprivation of political rights begin at the wrong end. Very little real good is to be anticipated from them, and it is far more important that the House of Commons

should agree on efficient methods of inquiry and procedure than that they should devote their energies to banishing or crushing culprits whom the difficulty at present is to catch.

#### RAILWAY COMPANIES.

EARLY naturalists remarked that the hare and the flying-fish were more unfortunate than any other inhabitants of the land or the sea in the multitude of their enemies. When the flying-fish sprang from the water to escape the porpoise or the dog-fish, its flight was intercepted by the sea-gull and the albatross; and eagles contended with foxes, with dogs, and with men in the pursuit of the defenceless hare. To economists railway property may well seem to involve dangers and disabilities not less various. Parliament and Courts of Law, journalists in want of a plausible subject, and speculators on the Stock Exchange busy themselves incessantly in more or less well-meaning contrivances for depreciating railway property. One of the latest and most formidable attacks has been made by the Chairman of Committees, in his proposal to restrict within the narrowest limits the *locus standi* of Railway Companies in opposition to competing schemes. If his plan should be adopted, projectors will, on the next revival of speculation, be enabled to lay down an entirely unnecessary line side by side with the railway from London to Birmingham, or with the railway from Derby to York. It may not even be intended that the line shall be used when it is made, for the new Company will have the power of enforcing a division of the traffic as soon as a possibly inferior line is completed. The judgment of Parliament on proposed schemes will be practically ousted in the absence of the only opponent who could have shown that the proposed line was a merely speculative mode of extortion. Such lines have, in one or two instances, been approved by ill-judging Committees, as in the notorious case of the Brighton and Lewes line of 1866, which was principally promoted by the Chairman of the South-Eastern Company. It was alleged at the time that the line would never be made, and that the Brighton Company would be forced into an amalgamation. In 1867 the amalgamation was arranged, and in 1868 the South-Eastern and Chatham Companies have deposited a Bill for the abandonment of the line. Similar operations will be effected, under Mr. Dodson's plan, without risk of defeat.

LORD REDESDALE has for some years been engaged in devising machinery for preventing the establishment of any competition with existing Companies. Mr. Dodson boldly proposes the opposite alternative of indiscriminate rivalry; and Parliament, and a portion of the press, listen to both schemes with a vague inclination to injure directors, contractors, and the whole of that unpopular class which has, in the face of many difficulties, constructed the railway system. That railways should be made when they are wanted, and not made when they are not wanted, is a doctrine equally repudiated by Lord REDESDALE and by Mr. DODSON. If the importance of the proposed Standing Orders is understood, the new risk to Companies will perhaps divert the attention of shareholders even from the controversies which have arisen respecting the affairs of the Caledonian and the Metropolitan.

There is, perhaps, some danger that reaction against an exaggerated clamour may once more induce Railway Companies to supply their deficiencies of revenue from capital. While chimerical theorists vainly exhort shareholders to starve themselves in vindication of a crotchet, proprietors in various undertakings are declaring their approval of the more rational policy of their Directors. The most extravagant of all the amateur speculators on railway finance lately confessed that the application of revenue to the improvement or extension of existing works was equivalent to a forced loan raised out of the pockets of shareholders, who might perhaps have no other means of subsistence than the dividends which were to be so absurdly misapplied; yet the expediency of confiscating income for the purpose of investment is defended on the ground that imprudent enterprises would never be undertaken if they involved immediate and severe self-denial. That all improvements are unprofitable, and that it is for the public interest to prohibit outlay on public accommodation, are propositions which only a few fanatics can have taught themselves seriously to believe. It is more surprising that the preachers of joint-stock asceticism should hope to find converts among shareholders than that they should amuse themselves and careless readers with chimerical paradoxes. The Committee of Investigation of the Caledonian Railway forgot that they were addressing imperfect human beings when they urged on their constituents the propriety of recouping, out of their current income, the capital account

which was supposed to have been unduly charged in two preceding years. In the controversy which ensued there were plausible arguments on both sides of the question, but the Committee of Investigation proposed to the proprietors an immediate sacrifice for a doubtful future benefit, while the Board of Directors insisted on the soundness of doctrines which would be immediately profitable. After full consideration, the policy of the Board has been approved by a majority of four to one, while the zealous reformers have only the consolation of wrapping themselves in their own virtue. The Company, in its corporate capacity, has determined that the erection of an iron bridge is as legitimate an investment as the cost of the cheaper wooden fabric which temporarily served the same purpose. It is also held that the purchase of the dilapidated line of the Scottish North-Eastern will only be completed when the line is fully repaired; and generally the shareholders decline to convert into productive capital the income on which they had calculated when they purchased their interest in the undertaking. The soundness of their judgment is shown by the rise in the price of Caledonian stock which immediately followed the declaration of the poll. Thoughtless agitators have of late frequently asserted that the accumulation of all doubtful charges on revenue would add to the saleable value of shares whatever was lost in the form of immediate returns; and even the calm judgment of Vice-Chancellor Wood yielded to a fallacy confuted by all recent experience. Ordinary holders are comparatively indifferent to the fluctuations of the Share List as long as they receive the dividends which are indispensable to their maintenance; but if their investment becomes unproductive they sell at once, and it follows that, if the revenue of a Company is intercepted, the stock becomes comparatively unmarketable. The buyers and sellers whose dealings regulate the price of shares take all the elements of their bargains into consideration; and when the circumstances are, as in the case of the Caledonian Railway, generally known, the price represents with tolerable fidelity the future prospects as well as the actual condition of the undertaking. The investigation which has taken place has been useful in showing that the apparent prosperity of the undertaking was to a certain extent delusive, although the original charges against the system of administration were disproved by the Reports of the engineers. The refusal of the proprietors to recast their accounts in accordance with an arbitrary theory will discourage further attempts to restrict too narrowly the discretion which must be necessarily exercised by the managers of a commercial business. As long as no fraud is practised to entrap purchasers, and the public accommodation is duly regarded, it is the duty of Boards of Directors to act precisely as a prudent capitalist would conduct his affairs if he were sole and responsible owner of the concern. There is, in ordinary cases, only limited room for discretion in the apportionment of expenditure to capital or to revenue; but when fresh capital is required, it ought to be raised in the cheapest and most convenient manner. In some cases it is best to borrow; and in others to offer to the proprietors, or even to strangers, a share in the particular or general undertaking. As a rule to which there is scarcely an exception, it may be stated that it is impossible permanently to close the capital account.

The continuance, by the LORD CHANCELLOR, of the injunction granted by Vice-Chancellor Wood against the Metropolitan Company was not unexpected. If shareholders have feelings to be irritated or soothed, as well as interests to be affected by litigation, the Metropolitan proprietors will perhaps find some consolation in the LORD CHANCELLOR's expressions of sympathy with their misfortunes, and in his condemnation of the conduct of the plaintiff. It must have been annoying to be lectured by the VICE-CHANCELLOR on the advantages to be derived from a suspension of dividend, and to be assured that a large depreciation in the price of shares indicated an increase of their substantial value. The LORD CHANCELLOR disregarded, in his judgment, the trifling question of the appropriation of office expenses, because the balance in the hands of the Company was more than sufficient to cover the items in dispute. On the material issue of the payment of debenture interest by the contractors, the CHANCELLOR reserved his opinion. It was not clear that the arrangement was within the scope of the Company's powers, and the injunction was therefore maintained until the hearing of the cause. The inflexible rules of law cannot be adapted to the convenience of litigants, even where both sides would be equally benefited by a departure from extreme rigour. If the plaintiff succeeds in the suit as well as in the preliminary motion, Joint Stock Companies will probably find that dissatisfied shareholders and external opponents will not be



slow to improve upon the precedent. Private capitalists, exempt from the perils and restraints of internal litigation, would witness with complacency the gradual paralysis of combined enterprise under the benign influence of the Court of Chancery.

To appreciate the evil inflicted on the Metropolitan Company by the litigation, it was not necessary to wait for the judgment of the Court. The course adopted by the plaintiff was undoubtedly injurious to the shareholders, whether it was sustained or condemned by a legal decision. The judgment of Vice-Chancellor Wood reduced the price of the stock nearly ten per cent.; and on his refusal to commit the Chairman for contempt of Court, there was an instantaneous rise of four per cent. During the argument in the LORD CHANCELLOR'S Court, shareholders and speculators eagerly watched the faintest intimation of a leaning of the CHANCELLOR'S opinion to either side; and in every instance the value of the property varied inversely with the probability of the plaintiff's success. Friends and enemies concurred in the belief that the substitution of the Chief Clerk for the Directors and Auditors of the Company would be deleterious to the interests of all persons except outside purchasers. The shallow critics who welcomed the original judgment as advantageous to the railway interest found their conclusion unanimously condemned both by the winners and by the losers in the game of litigation. There can be no doubt that in the course of ten days or a fortnight many thousands were staked on the chances of law, and gamblers on the Stock Exchange must have realized large profits at the cost of timid shareholders. The question was not, primarily, whether an undue amount had been charged in the accounts to capital, but rather whether the apportionment of payments belonged to the representatives of the shareholders or to the Court which binds trustees by strict and inflexible regulations. The law treatises which discuss the respective duties and rights of principals and agents take no cognizance of the fiduciary relation which has been mainly instituted for the protection of reversionary interests or of owners of property suffering under some special disability. In a few instances commercial undertakings are unavoidably managed by trustees, under the control of the Court of Chancery, but there can be no difference of opinion as to the inexpediency of so exceptional an arrangement. A Board of Trustee-Directors might deal with the ordinary receipts and payments of a railway, but they could scarcely grant a special rate to any class of freighters, and they would be afraid to substitute steel rails for iron at a crossing. The Court of Chancery is as incompetent to decide on the expediency of making a branch or extension, as a contractor or engineer to form an opinion on the validity of a demurrer.

#### ADMIRALTY ACCOUNTS.

THE great value of Mr. SEELY'S persevering efforts to improve the economy of the dockyards, and especially to force upon them a rational system of account, cannot be too highly estimated. But from the complexity of the case, and the extreme ingenuity and suppleness of those entrusted with the defence, the essential points are apt to get clouded by a mass of details which make it somewhat difficult to see how large are the admissions which the Admiralty are from time to time compelled by their diligent critic to make. There have been devices without end, and happily also without the promise of permanent success, to raise false issues at every turn of the controversy. If general statements are made, they are met with the most confident denial, and denounced for their vagueness. If a number of particular examples are given by way of illustration, the First Lord for the time being picks out one or two which he thinks he can challenge, and then treats his own selected cases as if the whole question were not whether the Admiralty outlay was justifiable, but whether it would be possible to detect Mr. SEELY in a material blunder. It is very wonderful that, in dealing with such a case, Mr. SEELY should not now and then have been caught tripping; but, as a matter of fact, these rather petty tactics have failed. We have now the whole case of the much discussed *Frederick William* complete, and what has happened is this. Mr. SEELY gave a large number of examples of ships that had been built in the dockyards at an excessive cost, taking his figures from the official accounts. The Admiralty happened to know, what they did not make very clear in their accounts, that they had had one of these ships, the *Frederick William*, under construction for more than twenty years, during the course of which they had altered their views respecting her two or three

times. This vacillation of purpose no doubt added to the expense, but it in no way altered the fact that the ship did cost all that Mr. SEELY said she did. But, instead of replying at the time that this ship was not a fair average specimen, Sir JOHN PAKINGTON stoutly denied the cost. A year's inquiry has proved that he was wrong, but then a year was gained for the defence, and the rectification of the accounts was proportionately delayed. It is quite true that a ship which has been converted and reconverted is not an average specimen, but Mr. SEELY never cited the *Frederick William* as the sole case by which he desired his charges to be tested. What he did was to give a number of examples, many of them wholly free from the peculiarity which explained, without excusing, some part of the extra expenditure on the *Frederick William*. It was the Admiralty who first singled out the particular case in order to overthrow Mr. SEELY'S figures, in which they failed, and then tried to hedge their defeat by saying that this was the least appropriate ship that could have been chosen as a test. Why then did not they challenge the figures in cases less open to objection?

But, behind all this special pleading and wrangling over the cost of one particular ship, there do come out, as a result of Mr. SEELY'S campaign, some very remarkable admissions. Many years ago, Sir JAMES GRAHAM, one of the few men of business who have presided over the Admiralty, placed upon record the very obvious, but very much neglected, observation that an account misrepresenting values is infinitely more dangerous than no account at all, and added that the navy accounts would be imperfect unless every kind of charge which a shipowner would bring to book were carried to account. And yet, after all the time that has elapsed, it is still admitted that the accounts of the Admiralty are accounts misrepresenting values, and that nothing like what Sir JAMES GRAHAM required is attempted to be done. The chief discussion in the late debate was on the question how far the method of account-keeping adopted by private firms ought to be introduced into the dockyards. We confess that this seems to us a very secondary matter. The essential thing is that the accounts should represent, and not misrepresent, values. If the dockyard accounts gave truly the actual expenditure for labour and materials, and also the interest on the capital sunk in any particular dockyards, it would be wholly immaterial whether they chose to add all, or only the first two of these items, in reckoning the cost of the work turned out. If the three items were only given in such a form that any one who pleased could extract the results, and state the cost of each ship, either excluding or including the much debated interest on capital, Mr. SEELY and the public would have all they desire, and would not much care whether the Admiralty wrote the magic words 'Total Cost' over the right or the wrong column. Only let the figures appear, and the country can then deal with them in its own fashion. The truth is, that for some purposes the one measure of cost ought to be used, and for other purposes the other. In discussing a question of policy, whether it is worth while building a ship or letting the ship for her lie idle, the expenditure on work and materials alone ought to be set against the value of the ship when built, because the interest does not cease to run by leaving the ship empty. On the other hand, if the question is raised whether it is advisable to keep up a dockyard or not, the only legitimate comparison is between the cost of its products, including interest on capital, and the cost of equally good ships at a private yard. It would be quite legitimate for the Admiralty to say, 'We do spend twice as much money upon a ship built in a dockyard as upon a purchased ship, but then *per contra* we have the enormous advantage which a naval Power gets, in time of war, by being its own ship-builder and having its own dockyards. But it is not at all legitimate to say that the cost is not double. It may or may not be judicious to pay twice over for your produce for the sake of having complete control over the productive machinery; but you not the less do pay twice over, and it is mere cavilling to give another name to the process. Mr. CHILDERS'S naïve complaint that the interest was such a very large sum that the navy could not afford to include it as the army manufacturing departments do, is one of the prettiest bits of Admiralty fencing extant. Just as if the principle depended on the amount involved. However, as we have already said, the question is not whether this or that is the proper definition of cost, but whether the Admiralty accounts give the means of clearly ascertaining the items out of which cost, on one or another definition, is made up. And this confessedly they do not give. As they stand, nobody but Mr. SEELY can make them speak out. To all the rest of the world they misrepresent values; and it is only

by devoting half his life to the labour that Mr. SEELY himself can make them expose their own errors.

Let any one reflect upon such specimens of accounting as these. One of the most important purposes of dockyard accounts is to afford means of comparing the economy of one dockyard with another, with a view to checking any local extravagance. Now, how is this managed by the Admiralty? Why, if in a particular dockyard materials are obtained at a low price, there is added to the cost of the ship produced the excess of cost of the same materials at all the other dockyards at home and abroad. For example, at Devonport a couple of masts were procured for 33*l.* They are entered in the accounts at 63*l.*, because this excessive price was paid in other yards for similar goods. So at Portsmouth, boats fitted cost 1,593*l.*, but they were set down at only 799*l.*, because that is what they would have cost somewhere else, or at an average of several somewhere. These are examined and admitted figures which the Admiralty themselves have owned to be correct. Again, what could be more absurd than to charge a portion of the cost of a foreman of smitheries at Portsmouth against a ship repaired at Malta? And yet this is what the Admiralty does, although Mr. CORRY tells us that they have been sedulously and continuously improving their accounts for the last ten years. What must they have been in 1858! We cannot wonder, however, at his admission that, notwithstanding all the improvements that had been introduced, he did not regard them as perfect in their present form, and confidently believed them capable of still further amendment. Not until after Mr. SEELY's repeated criticisms has it occurred to a First Lord to make the admission that it would be desirable to have accounts that would enable a controller to ask a dockyard subordinate, "Why do you spend 5*l.* on the same thing which 'we get in another dockyard for 4*l.*?' and it stands now on record that, after all that has been said and done for the last ten years, there are no accounts rendered which disclose the fact, otherwise tolerably well known, that some things cost twice as much at one yard as at another. Mr. SEELY has got his Committee, and he can be trusted to work out this matter to the end. Otherwise there would be little comfort in the notions of reform which are floating in the mind of the Admiralty. One of the great steps recently taken has been to appoint an accountant "whose relationship is to 'be common to the Controller, the Accountant-General, and 'the Storekeeper-General, and in the performance of whose 'duties regard is to be had to the requirements of these three 'officers.'" To serve two masters is not supposed to be easy, but we do not envy the gentleman who has to serve three—and those three officials of the Board of Admiralty.

#### PAPAL WOMAN.

THE wonderful instinct which has always guided the Papacy in distinguishing between forces that it may safely oppose and forces before which it must surrender, has just received a startling illustration in a scene reported to have taken place at the Vatican a few days ago. Rome may refuse all compromise with Italy, but even Rome shrinks from encountering the hostility of woman. The Brief of October last sounded, indeed, marvellously like a declaration of war; even in a Pope it argued no little resolution to denounce the "license of the female toilet," the "fantastic character of woman's head-dress," and the "scandalous indecency" of woman's attire. More worldly critics would hardly have ventured to describe a piquant chignon or a suggestive bodice as "a propaganda of the devil"; it will be long, at any rate, before censors of this class will meet with the reward of a deputation and a testimonial from the fair objects of their criticism. St. Peter, however, we are adroitly reminded, after his miraculous delivery from prison by an angel, found an asylum among women; and, fresh from his troubles with the red shirts of Monte Rotondo, the successor of St. Peter seems to have found himself wonderfully at home among the flounces that thronged the other day to his public audience at the Vatican. A hundred ladies—the presence amongst whom of a number of English Catholics gives us a national interest in the scene—came forward to express their gratitude for the censures of the Papal Briefs, and the adhesion of their sex to the orthodox doctrines of the toilet. The speech in which one of the fair deputation expressed the sentiments of her fellows has been unfortunately suppressed, but the letter of Pope Pius to the Bishop of Orleans explains the secret of this dramatic reconciliation, and the terms of the Concordat which has been arranged between Woman and the Papacy. A common danger has driven the two Powers to this fresh alliance. If Garibaldi threatens the supremacy of the Holy See, the educational reforms of M. Duruy menace the domestic tyranny of woman. Woman sees herself in peril of deposition at home by the same spirit of democratic and intellectual equality which would drive the Pope from the Vatican. In presence of such a

peril, mutual concession becomes easy, and the fair votaries pardon all references to their "propaganda of the devil" in consideration of a Papal assault on the "cynical writers who are desirous of attacking woman."

The motive of the Papacy, in opposing a system of education which emancipates woman from the intellectual control of the priesthood and plunges her into the midst of the doubts and questionings of sceptical man, is of course plain enough. We feel no particular surprise when the attendance of girls at the public classes of a Professor is denounced as tending to "despoil woman of her native modesty, to drag her before the public, to turn her from domestic life and duties, to puff her up with vain and false science." It is the adhesion of woman to this view of the case which puzzles us a little at first. We recall her aspirations after a higher training, and her bitter contempt for the unhappy censors who venture to remind her of certain primary truths respecting puddings and pies. But the same problem meets us in other halls than those of the Vatican. Everywhere woman poses herself as a social martyr, as the victim of conventional bonds, as reduced to intellectual torpor by the refusal of intellectual facilities and intellectual distinctions, as excluded by sheer masculine tyranny from the larger sphere of thought and action which the world presents, as chained, like Prometheus, to the rock of home by necessity and force. It is only when some amiable enthusiast is taken in by all this admirable acting, and ventures to propose a plan for her deliverance, that one finds how wonderfully contented, after all, woman is with her bonds and her prison-house. The philosopher who comes forward with his pet theory of the enfranchisement of woman, who recognises the necessity for loosening the matrimonial tie, for securing to woman her property and its responsibilities, for levelling all educational differences and abolishing all social distinctions between the sexes, only finds himself snubbed for his pains. He is calmly assured that home is the sphere of woman, and the care of a family the first of woman's duties; the domestic martyr of yesterday proves from Proverbs and the *Princess* that marriage is the completion of woman, and that her office is but to wed the "noble music" of her feminine nature to the "noble words" of the nature of her spouse. In a word, woman knows her own business a great deal better than her friends. She does not believe in the intellectual equality which she is always preaching about, and when M. Duruy offers it a shriek of horror goes up from half the mothers of France. What she does believe is that, in seeking the educational Will-o'-the-Wisp, she may lose the solid pudding of domestic supremacy, and domestic supremacy is worth all the sciences in the world. Her position, as the Vatican suggests, is a religious, not an intellectual, one, and her policy lies in an alliance with the priesthood, whose position is one with her own. So woman makes her submission to the Papacy, and the Pope snubs M. Duruy.

It is amusing to see how limited, after all, a man's power, the power even of the stoutest of men, is in his own house, and to watch the simple process by which woman establishes the limitation. It consists simply in asserting a specially religious character for her sex. She is never tired of telling us that the sentiments and sympathies of the feminine breast have a greater affinity for divine things than the rougher masculine nature; that her instincts are purer, more poetic, more refined; that her moral nature has a certain bloom upon it which contact with the world has brushed off from ours; that while we coarser creatures are driven to reason out our spiritual conclusions, she arrives at them by an intuitive process reserved for the angelic nature and her own. And on the whole man accepts the claim. He is bribed perhaps into allowing it by his own desire to have something at home better and purer than himself. It is a startling thing perhaps to say, but in ninety-nine homes out of a hundred real humility of heart is to be found in the husband, not in the wife. The husband has very little belief in his own religion, in his unworldliness and spirituality; but he has an immense belief in the spirituality and the devotion of the being who fronts him over the breakfast-table. He does not profess to understand the character of her piety, her love of sermons, the severity with which she visits the household after family prayers, or the extreme interest with which she peruses the geographical chapters of the Book of Joshua. But his incapacity to understand it is mixed with a certain awe. He never ventures to disturb, by "shadowed hint" of his own thoughts about the matter, the "simple views" of his spouse. He adroitly diverts the conversation of his dinner-table when it drifts near to the fatal pigeons of Colenso. Sometimes he bends to a little gentle deceit, and wins a smile of approval by turning up at an early Litany, or by bringing home the newest photograph of a colonial metropolitan. In one way or another he practically acknowledges, like King Cnut, that there is a bound to his empire. Over bonnet bills and butchers' bills he may exercise a certain nominal control. It is possible that years of struggle might enable him to alter by half an inch the length of his wife's skirt, if fashion had not shortened it in the interval. But over the whole domain of moral and religious thought and action he is absolutely powerless. Woman meets him, if he attempts any interference, as Christian martyrs have always met their persecutors, with outstretched neck and on her knees. She prays for his return to better thoughts, and the whole household knows she is praying for him. She listens to all his remonstrances, professes obedience on every point but the one he wants, and keeps her finger all the time on the particular page of Thomas à Kempis at which the remonstrance found her. Before such an adversary, there is no shame in a defeat.



It is not that on all points of moral or religious life woman professes herself above criticism; to the criticisms of her religious teachers, for instance, we have seen her singularly obsequious. Woman and the priesthood in fact understand one another perfectly, and a tacit convention forces woman to submit to censures so long as those censures are reserved for one topic alone. To religion woman makes the sacrifice of her dress. It is not that she seriously intends to make the slightest amendment, or to withdraw before the exhortations of her spiritual guide into poke bonnets and print muslins. It is a sufficient mark of self-sacrifice if she listens patiently to diatribes against butterfly bonnets, trains, or crinolines, or even thanks her pastor for describing evening costume as a "propaganda of the devil." The very minuteness, in fact, of censures such as these, is a flattering proof of the spiritual importance of even the most trivial details in the life of woman. When Father Ignatius informed mankind that the angels bent down from heaven to weep over the flirtations of Rotten Row, the smallest child on her pony felt her ride, and her chatter over the palings, invested with a certain celestial importance. Criticisms, too, so strictly reserved for the outside of the platter, are an immense compliment to the inside, and it is something to listen to half an hour of spiritual reproof, and to be able to pass oneself triumphantly as a "Fair Soul" after all. There is nothing revolutionary in a mere border-skirmish, which leaves the field of woman's sway not an inch the narrower. It is another matter when M. Duruy calls on Hermione to come down from her pedestal of worship, and in the long run to abdicate. For equality of education would, of course, even if it did nothing else, make mince-ment of the spiritual pretensions of woman. It would be impossible to preserve a domestic Papacy with a more than papal weakness for dogmatism and infallibility, if woman is to come down into school and share the common training of men. If women are to be educated precisely as men are educated, they will share the reasonings, the scepticisms, the critical doubts of men. There will be no refuge for praying sisters in that world of "simple views" from which they come forth at present furnished with a social and domestic decalogue whose sacredness it is impious to doubt or to dispute. In other words, the power which woman now exercises will simply crumble to dust. Whether she might gain a power higher and more beneficial to the world and to herself, is a matter which we are not now discussing. What is perfectly certain is that such a power would not be the power she exercises now. The moral censorship of woman over woman, for example, would at once pass away. It rests on the belief that women have higher moral faculties than other beings, and that their treason to this higher form of moral humanity which is exhibited in womanhood is a treason of deeper dye than an offence against morality itself. An erring sister sins against something greater than goodness—she sins against the theory of woman, against the faith that woman is a creature who soars high above the weaknesses of man and the common nature of man. Long ages of self-assertion have penetrated woman with the conviction of her worth; she is the object of her own especial worship, and the sharp stinging justice she deals out to social offenders is not merely a proof of the spiritual nature of her rule, but the vindication of her self-idolatry. Again, she would forfeit the peculiar influence which she is every day exerting in a greater degree on the course of religion and the Church. The hypothesis of a superior spiritual nature in woman lies at the root, for instance, of the great modern institution of sisterhoods, and of the peculiar relation which is slowly attaching his Paula and his Eustochium to every Jerome of our day. But the main loss of power would lie in the family itself. It would be no longer possible to front the political dogmatist of the hearth-rug with a social and religious dogmatism as brusque and unreasonable as his own. The balance of power which woman has slowly built up in home would be roughly disturbed, and new forms of social and domestic life would emerge from the chaos of such a revolution. From sweeping changes of this sort the very temper of woman, her innate conservatism, her want of originaive power, turns her away. It is more comfortable to bask in the glow of Papal sunshine, to figure in Allocations from the Vatican as "the pure and shining light of the house, the glory of her husband, the education of her family, a bond of peace, an emblem of piety"; and to let Monsieur Duruy and his insidious Professors alone.

#### THE FOLLIES OF TRAVEL.

THERE are two principal pitfalls into either of which the traveller is in equal peril of tumbling, according to his mood and character. He may either insist upon finding everything that he sees abroad much better managed, much handsomer, more impressive, and in every aspect superior to things at home; or else he may resolutely persuade himself and anybody who will listen to him, that everything abroad is a long way inferior and much worse managed. In the first excitement of travel, the former is the more common and natural mood. Novelty of scene and circumstance are exhilarating. They stimulate one's observation, and, like other stimulating agencies, inevitably dispose one to see things through a brighter medium than usual. This fact, indeed, is one of the main recommendations of foreign travel. The novelty of surrounding things, the different appearance of the streets, the variety of expression and of costume, the little or great departures from English usage in the thousand details of living—all this sharpens the observation, fills us with interest, and so refreshes

the mind in a way that no amount of travel in familiar places could possibly do. This is all very well and excellent in itself, only it may carry us much too far. Under the excitement of the new, we forget the good sides of the old, and vow impatiently that the new and the foreign is superior. How much better, we exclaim, do the French or the Americans understand the organization of social life than we English do! Compare the cafés and the delightful restaurants of the boulevards with the frowsy London eating-houses; compare the social *table d'hôte* of a Paris or New York hotel with the surliness of a solitary meal in an English coffee-room; how far better the adroit and chatty garçon or self-possessed kellner, or even the clumsy but good-humoured negro, than the stolid, greasy, incompetent English waiter—always either too servile or else too sulky. And so on, through every point. One sees nothing but what is bright and convenient and agreeable. Our own country sinks into a miserable position among the civilised nations of the earth. Everybody to whom we are introduced impresses us wonderfully. We analyse him, and classify him, and look upon him as a type, finding twenty points in which his type is unspeakably above the average of one's countrymen. Martin Chuzzlewit was told that every other person he met was one of the most remarkable men in the country; but this is just what an ardent and ingenuous traveller is most anxious to believe. Every other person he meets, to him, is remarkable. By the end of his first twenty-four hours in a foreign country he has formed a final and comprehensive generalization as to the character of the people whom he has come to visit, and in this character are commonly included most of the virtues that mankind have hitherto discovered. As he sits down to the composition of his diary, he unconsciously proceeds to analyse his own fond ideal of perfection, and to predicate it all of his acquaintances of the day. Energy, vivacity, apprehensiveness, breadth, and all other fine qualities are possessed by this or that happy people in a degree unknown in the traveller's own less fortunate land; at every point the comparison turns against his countrymen and their system of living and thinking. Bare crumbs and scraps of moral or intellectual worth are left to fall to their portion; scanty parings that remain after the carving of the foreign idol. By and by, however, the traveller becomes a little embarrassed. His admiration does not fade or suffer any tarnishing or diminution, but he experiences a lack of new phrases and new types. Individuals are many, but types are few, and as he has used up the latter very early in the day, while the stream of acquaintances still flows on, he has nothing for it but to repeat the superlatives which he too rashly used up at the first start. After a time, all but the most ardent begin to find this not only embarrassing, but even a little ludicrous. As they get leisure to turn to the early pages of their journal, and so come on gradually up to the actual date, they are startled at the number of astounding persons whom they have been fortunate to meet. Yet on taking stock of the net or gross result of all these stupendous and overwhelming impressions, they find that very little has come of them all. A retrospect in soberer mood reveals to them that, after all, they have been holding intercourse with good, honest, average human beings, at bottom extremely like the human beings whom they are accustomed to meet at home; only at home familiarity and use rather blind us to the virtues of people around us. Except in the case of unusually acute observers, we do not discover characteristic differences of type at the first or the second glance. What this discloses is the stock base of character, which is much the same all the world over. The difference in mental tone and temper between an Englishman and a Frenchman, or between an inhabitant of the Old World and an inhabitant of the New, breaks fully upon us only after some considerable use and time. Meanwhile, we mistake our mere preconceived ideas about national types for actual and recognisable corroborations of them.

Admitting that a fixed conviction, made up beforehand, that we are going to see a finer country with a better organized life than our own, is a very decided error in a traveller, we may also agree that the opposite pre-determination to be satisfied with nothing is a far worse error. The gushing traveller at least has his mind open to all that he sees; he gets all the increased width of vision which sympathy confers, while subsequent reflection is pretty sure to induce him to modify and correct whatever excesses of admiration he may have been led into. But he who goes forth over the face of the earth, carrying his Britannic spirit closely along with him, full of cavil and growling and captious preference of what is confessedly inferior at home to what is confessedly better abroad—this sort of traveller is hopeless. He has no enjoyment while he is away. When he returns he proves to have received no edification. What he has seen, he has seen, but the new and unfamiliar experiences, so far from refreshing and renewing his soul, have only skimmed ineffectually over the surface of it. The mental records of his travels are written in water or in sand. All that remains is an acid sediment of prejudice. It is to be observed that travellers of this stamp always hover about the trifles of the country they visit. They detest a nation that can dine without a pint of sherry, and drinks iced water instead. They despise a country where, instead of paying a 'bus conductor rationally at the door, you have to thrust your fare through a hole at the back of the driver's seat. They cannot understand how a human being in his senses will consent to live in a land where a man cannot have a first-class compartment of a railway carriage to himself if he likes to pay for it. They will listen to no praises of the principles of government or the social system of a people who chew tobacco and copiously spit. Every petty mortification, every slight personal inconvenience, counts for so much that they have no patience left

for the consideration of the weightier matters that ought to occupy the attention of anybody aspiring to the character of intelligent traveller. If the beer of a country is not good, then they will not think about its form of government, or its religion, or its social tendencies; if a country has no Hansom cabs, why waste time in meditating on its place in the growth of civilization? If you may not have your surly meal in your private room without paying double the ordinary fee, why should you consider the contributions of such a country to the progress of mankind? Unless the manners and customs are, in every trifling detail, those in which the traveller has been brought up, then he insists in his own mind that there is no inch of common ground between himself and his entertainers, and that they deserve no serious thinking at his hands. Every nation is, to his mind, essentially barbarous which does not conform in social details to the ordinary home pattern. This grossly crude notion is characteristic of too many Englishmen, but perhaps we may be a little consoled in reflecting that it is the characteristic of all Frenchmen.

A good deal of the folly of both these kinds of travellers would be avoided if they would take the pains to reflect that among nations of equal civilization—that is to say, among all highly civilized nations—the substratum of manners is pretty much the same in one country as in another. In the fundamental points of manners they are tolerably alike, because manners are the superficial outside of morals, and civilized morality is essentially uniform at any given period. The views of an Englishman and an American upon the serious virtues of life are tolerably alike, though there may be many degrees of difference in the perfection which individuals may attain in performance. What the traveller should remember is, that any two national characters have much more of what is common to both than either has of what is peculiar to itself. If we could enumerate the qualities of the Englishman, the American, and the Frenchman, we should find that those in which they are alike are much more numerous than those in which they differ, and not only more numerous, but that they are those which weigh most also. In the bases and main springs of conduct, the various civilized peoples among whom we travel resemble one another very closely. To bear this in mind is to guard yourself alike against wholesale and extravagant exaltation on the one hand, and wholesale and extravagant depreciation on the other. The great object in life, perhaps above all others, is to learn to discriminate—to abstain with something like horror from wholesale denunciation or wholesale panegyric of bodies and sets of men, and especially from inferring a long chain of virtues or vilenesses from a single incident which happens to please or displease one's own private taste. Accidental peculiarities are not the infallible stamps and tests of an entire national character. On the contrary, most of those things which most strike the traveller on first entering a country he afterwards perceives, if he be a judicious man, to have been least indicative of any deeper thing worth noticing. The temptation is naturally very strong to generalize to unknown lengths from anything which is unusual; but nobody is fit to travel, or is any the better for travelling, who does not know how to resist this especial temptation. Reflecting how much men are alike at bottom, we decline to infer that because a nation takes iced water instead of sherry at dinner, or lives in houses which are made extremely hot with stove-pipes and injections of heated air, or spits forth tobacco-juice profusely and promiscuously, therefore it is given up either to depravity or barbarism. Such things are the accidents. Note them and pass on. Remember how the accidental and the individual strike us first, and how far it is from being a wide enough base for a general law. The root of a matter is that which we discover last of all. The rashness of drawing one's final ideas of a nation from the life of the largest hotel in its largest town does not become thoroughly visible to a man until he has gone to some other town. Even a movement to another hotel may suffice to awaken him. But a great many people even now will tranquilly talk about the character of the French as a thing known to them from unimpeachable personal inspection, albeit the field of their observation was no wider than the Hôtel du Louvre, and the people whom they saw walking about the streets. In the same adventurous spirit they will ascertain all about America by staying at the biggest caravanserai they can find in each of some four or five of the main Atlantic cities. What should we think of the foreigner who should lay down the law about the condition and prospects of England because he had stayed a fortnight in the Charing Cross Hotel, another at the Queen's in Manchester, a third at Liverpool, and so on for six months? Such a man could generalise about English waiters and hotel prices and average fare; but of English character he would know nothing in the world.

It must be said that if travellers often misconceive their own business, foreigners quite as often are ready in some way or other to help them to a misconception. They insist upon their guest going to see a dozen things for which he does not care a jot, while they rather dissuade him from seeing a dozen other things which would really be full of interest and instruction to him. Sight, it is not too much to say, are the traveller's bane. The regular sights and shows of most places are precisely those which no sensible man would cross the street to see. Take columns, for example. From Baalbec to Baltimore the traveller is the victim of columns. Nobody who comes from the country or from abroad is supposed to have seen London unless he has been to the top of the Monument in Fish Street Hill. In other places, to mount up some fabulous number of steps and from the top to get a bird's

eye view of housetops is the one performance exacted of every traveller, the one instructive thing that zealous and hospitable citizens have to show him. Bird's-eye views are excellent things for birds, but the proper study of mankind is man. One wants to see either nature in some rare and remarkable form, or else one of the thousand shapes of the manifestation of human effort. People will not understand this. Consequently, unwise hosts drag the guest to see all the little local lions, which probably to him are no more than asses in the lion's skin; while unwise travellers waste their energies over these fruitless fragmentary sights, and return dissatisfied and unimproved, they hardly know why. It is true that travel refreshes a man by taking him out of his groove, but if it takes him so far out as to remove him from all the sorts of objects in which he has trained himself to take an interest, then travel only bores him. Wisdom therefore for him consists in a firm refusal to yield to the mistaken importunities of natives; in a serene chalking out of his own course, and an intrepid adherence to it in the face of their astonishment, and sometimes of their disgust.

#### AMATEUR DETECTIVES.

THE excitement produced by Mr. Speke's disappearance has illustrated some odd peculiarities of popular thought. It was only natural that a profound sensation should be caused by so melancholy a circumstance, and that every one, wise or foolish, should have some pet theory to establish. Perhaps the lowest depth of absurdity was reached by the gentleman who wrote to say that about the time of the disappearance he had seen three working-men with their coats off in the neighbourhood of St. James's Park. Until the mystery is cleared up, if that should ever take place, we cannot determine who has had the merit or the good fortune of having made the best guess. But both the acute and the foolish guessers generally make an assumption which is worth a passing notice, because it is common in inquiries of wider interest than that of poor Mr. Speke's fate. It is an assumption the truth of which is generally accepted in constructing the well-known detective of fiction. According to Fenimore Cooper and other writers of the same school, a Red Indian will look at a few marks in the forest, imperceptible to a civilized eye, and tell you at a glance the number and the personal peculiarities of the party that made them, and the distance of time which has elapsed since they were made. The detective is supposed to perform the same feat. You allow him a few scraps of clothing, a lost hat, or the marks of a pair of shoes, and he constructs a theory, by a process generally described as an "inexorable induction," which infallibly identifies the murderer. Given any fragment of the universe, it has been said, and a person of sufficient knowledge and ability might construct all the rest. Let a man of really acute mind have the most trifling foundation to work upon, and he will erect a superstructure of reasoning which may lead him anywhere. Like a spider, he only requires some point of attachment for his logical cobweb, and he will spin out threads enough to hang the most carefully concealed criminal. It is easy enough to show that the doctrine, even in a less exaggerated form, is absurd, and that there must really exist in the ordinary circumstances of life what a mathematician would call indeterminate problems. In fact, it is scarcely possible to find any set of data which, rigidly speaking, are compatible with the truth of one, and only one, hypothesis. As a rule, an indefinite number would fulfil the conditions of the case, although some one may have sufficient probabilities in its favour to justify us in sentencing somebody to be hanged.

Thus, for example, it is not only possible to commit a murder of which no condemnatory evidence shall remain, but it may be said, in one sense, that nothing is easier. If our only object was to kill somebody, without being particular as to whom we killed, we have constant opportunities of doing it with impunity. Two men are out shooting together, and one man's gun sends its charge through the other's head; or two men are on the edge of an Alpine cliff, and one of them tumbles over and is smashed on the spot. In such a case no human being can say positively whether the death is accidental or is caused by malice pre-pense. Fortunately, in most cases, the murderer is not urged by a homicidal mania, but by a desire to kill some particular person. It can only be by a rare coincidence, although one whose frequency we have no means of estimating, that the murderer and his intended victim are thrown together in the most convenient combination of circumstances. Even in such a case as we have supposed, suspicion would generally be aroused by the interest which the criminal may be known to have in the death of his victim, though proof would be absolutely wanting. Accordingly, in the majority of murders that have been contrived with any skill, the obvious interest of some one in the crime has been the real clue to detection. Even with this help, and without an exceptionally favourable chance, the question may be incapable of any definite solution. Some years ago a dead body was found in a field; the victim had been knocked down, and killed on the spot, by a stake taken out of the neighbouring fence. The perpetrator of the crime was never discovered. If we suppose that he had the luck to go to, and return from, the scene of the murder without meeting any one, and if his clothes were not marked with blood, it is evident that there need have been no clue whatever, except the possibly ambiguous clue of interest. Any number of people might have had motives for desiring the death of the victim. No one might be able to say which of them it was that



had been absent during the necessary time; and the question would be as hopeless, unless some one confessed, as it will be this time next year to say who passed Charing Cross at three minutes past one to-day. Nobody knows, nor ever will know, however skilfully they may reason. Even where the question is much narrowed by circumstances, the problem may be strictly indefinite. In the celebrated case of Peytel, discussed by Balzac, a man was in a carriage, with his wife and his servant. The wife was shot, and the servant knocked down by a hammer. Peytel said that he had killed the servant for shooting his wife. The prosecutor asserted that Peytel had killed his wife, and then killed the servant, to remove his evidence. Either hypothesis might be made to suit the facts, as Peytel had a pecuniary interest in removing his wife, and the servant might have committed the crime in attempting robbery. As Peytel was guillotined many years ago, it does not much matter; but the decision could only rest on certain *à priori* probabilities as to his character and motives. In other words, it was, partly at least, a guess. The case of the Road murder was at first similar. It was certainly possible to reconcile all the facts which were known, before the confession of Constance Kent, with two or three hypotheses. Those who guessed wrong very likely committed no blunder in reasoning, though they may have been over confident; but those who guessed right naturally prided themselves on their marvellous sagacity. When a man cries Heads! and the coin comes down accordingly, he generally feels disposed to say, 'What a clever fellow I am!' He says so still more boldly in proportion to the rashness of his guess. If he guesses what will be the next throw of two dice, he thinks that his acuteness is something wonderful. In Mr. Speke's case, as at present known, there is a boundless field for guessing, because the facts are perfectly consistent with an infinite number of hypotheses. Considering the enormous number of answers that have been proposed to the enigma, it is probable that some one must be near the truth; and, if the mystery is ever unravelled, the person who has come nearest to the mark will count himself ever after as a model for all detectives. He will perhaps deserve no more praise than the man who has drawn the fortunate number in a lottery, and says that he always knew it would turn up.

The extent to which every one instinctively overrates the value of such coincidences is curious. A great part of the art of phrenologists, spirit-rappers, and modern diviners generally depends upon the same principle. That a table should rap out one fortunate answer to our inquiries is considered to be a positive proof of its inspiration, against which no blunders are a sufficient reason. A person once announced to us, on the authority of a dream, that a horse, then scarcely known, would win the Derby some nine or ten months later. The dream came perfectly true; but, as it happened, neither the dreamer nor those to whom it was communicated put the smallest faith in its supernatural character. If the seer had been one of the professional performers, and had publicly announced his prediction, he might probably have made as profitable a speculation for the next event as Murphy did by his lucky hit about the cold weather on a certain day in January. If a similar story had been told in regard to some event of theological interest—if a Roman Catholic had foreseen Garibaldi's invasion, or correctly predicted the day of the Pope's death—it would be unhesitatingly set down as a miraculous event. Considering the number of people who must be dreaming about Mr. Speke's disappearance, if their dreams bear any relation to their thoughts by day, some of them will be clearly entitled, in the event of a solution of the mystery, to set up a reputation as seers. When Mr. Lincoln was assassinated, the Yankee diviners took advantage of this principle with characteristic acuteness. They set about describing the place where Booth was hidden with an energy which must in some instances have been rewarded with some approach to success. If their guesses were wrong, they could do no harm; and if right, they would amount to a demonstration of their claims to insight.

The best lesson which can be derived from such considerations would be extremely beneficial to historians. There are certain problems which are discussed with unceasing eagerness by successive generations of writers. Did Richard III. smother his nephews? Did Mary blow up Darnley? Was Anne Boleyn guilty, or was she an injured innocent? These, and innumerable other questions, are canvassed with an eagerness which contributes materially to increase the quantity of waste paper in the world. It would be a comfort to persons who do not like to see ability wasted upon endless investigations if some means could be found of finally closing some of these inquiries. It seems to be no use to assure eager historians that it really matters very little to any human being whether Richard III. was a virtuous hero or a detestable scoundrel. We are glad to know what kind of human beings lived in his day, what were the means by which they contrived to get a living and to settle their disputes, what they thought and felt, and even how they digested. All these topics are, for obvious reasons, very worthy objects of investigation. But the question whether one individual did or did not commit a particular crime is for the most part of infinitesimal importance. The fact that a man's contemporaries held such or such opinions about him may be worth knowing, because the current judgment passed upon conspicuous persons throws much light upon the prevalent state of feeling, and affects to some extent the development of the country. If a king was universally believed to be a murderer, we gain some measure of the strength of loyal feeling at the time. But the further question whether the belief was well or ill founded proves little that is of interest to any one but the unfortunate king

himself. The passion for discovering truth of all kinds, which makes a man an historian, renders him superior to such considerations as this. He is anxious to pick up facts, whether they are valuable or simply so much rubbish for the consumption of Dryadusts. But it might be possible to convince some of these enthusiasts that there is no chance of their picking up facts, but merely a few vague probabilities. What do we know, we may say, even of the details of modern history? When a dispute arises about a transaction which occurred a few years ago and the chief witnesses of which are still alive, we find the widest variety of statements. A controversy turns up in the newspapers about the dismissal of a Minister, or the passing of a Bill, and the best authorities contradict each other flatly. Ah, reply the historians, documents will come to light which will reveal the hidden secrets. But, we might ask, who will guarantee the documents? When Captain Lemuel Gulliver reached the city of Glubbubdril, the governor of which could summon up the dead, he sent for a variety of distinguished heroes of the past. A general confessed that he got a victory purely by the force of cowardice and ill conduct; and an admiral, that for want of intelligence he beat the enemy to whom he intended to betray the fleet. When he asked for the persons who had done great services to princes and States, he was told that their names were to be found on no record, except a few of them whom history had represented as the vilest rogues and traitors. Captain Gulliver was a misanthrope; his testimony may be suspected; although it has more verisimilitude than the revelations of some of those who in our own days have called up Plato or Shakspeare. At any rate there is some grain of truth in his bitter lampoon upon his race; and we may admit that, if the present is far from ascertainable, much of the past has gone beyond recall. Unluckily, a man who has spent years in disinterring ancient records is slow to admit the obvious truth that the facts which he can discover are really inconclusive, and that we must be content to be in ignorance. If many of the crimes committed in our own day are utterly untraceable, it is hopeless to detect a criminal when there has been no opportunity of cross-examining witnesses for some centuries past. If we may guess at the way in which history is made, we may probably infer that, if a disappearance such as that of Mr. Speke had occurred several centuries ago, we should now be trying to reconcile two opposite chroniclers, one of whom would assert positively that he had been murdered in a cab, with the fullest details of the method employed, and another that he had escaped secretly to the Continent for some carefully explained reason. The bold speculator who suggested that neither of the chroniclers knew anything about it would be set down as a heartless sceptic.

#### DEAN STANLEY ON CHURCH AND STATE.

WE hardly know if the Dean of Westminster will feel flattered at discovering that the only paper which has reported at any length his singular discourse the other day at Sion College on Church and State is the Unitarian *Inquirer*. Whether its insertion there is due to the presence of Mr. James Martineau and other Unitarian luminaries, who attended the meeting by special invitation of Mr. Rogers, of "theology be hanged" reputation—or whether the Dean's latitudinarian leanings have won him a sympathy with that sect which he cannot always command in his own communion—we are not prepared to say. Be this as it may, we are grateful to the *Inquirer* for rescuing from oblivion this very characteristic pronouncement of what it calls "the theory generally held by Broad Churchmen." Dr. Stanley's pictorial tastes and passion for analogies, combined with his almost unique inaptitude for appreciating distinctions, very generally lead him to illustrate a subject rather than to explain it. If we may truly say of him, in one sense, *nihil tetigit quod non ornavit*, it is scarcely less true to say, in another, that his language conceals, or at most adumbrates, more often than it indicates his opinions. This, however, increases our satisfaction at getting for once something like a definite rationale of the various utterances, on matters ecclesiastical, whereof he is from time to time disburdening himself in Convocation and elsewhere. Not that his present speech, so far at least as his Unitarian reporter has reproduced it, is always so explicit as one could desire. But we can hardly be wrong in gathering from the summary presented to us a very pronounced, not to say extreme, assertion of what is generally known as the Erastian theory; though he is also, in some respects, as his Dissenting critic very truly observes, "far in advance of most Liberatorians." We need not say that we have no intention of discussing here the abstract merits or demerits of Erastianism, and the true principle of the relations of Church and State. But there are some salient points of the exceedingly "broad" view of that question advocated the other day at Sion College—under the eye, and apparently with the approval, of the Bishop of London, who afterwards spoke himself—which fairly call for comment. Were we, indeed, obliged to propound a comparative estimate of the addresses delivered on an occasion which, according to the *Inquirer*, "forms an event in our ecclesiastical annals," we should be reluctantly compelled to fall back on Mrs. Poyser's verdict on the ill-cooked puddings—"It ain't which I likes best, but which I mislikes least." On the whole, we are inclined to mislike Mr. Martineau least, chiefly perhaps because he said least, and that little, as given in the report, is not very intelligible. But it is time to return to the Dean's speech, which, under the thin disguise of an argument against Nonconformist objectors, was con-

apicuously aimed throughout at the Bishop of Capetown, and the Council, or Synod, or Conference—or whatever Convocation will allow us to call it—of Lambeth.

Dr. Stanley began by clearing the ground of what he considered the two main props of "the modern Liberationist theory," though having no necessary connexion with the idea of a State Church. These two awkward facts are "the atrocious Act of 1662"—that is, the Act of Uniformity—and "the existence of the Papal Church." It is hard to see what "the Papal Church" has to do with the matter one way or the other. In some countries it is established, as in Spain and Austria; in some it is recognised and salaried by the State without being established in the English meaning of the word, as in France and parts of Germany; in some it exists simply as a voluntary society, as in England and America. The Liberationist or the Establishmentarian may quote it with equal force, or absence of force, in support of their respective views. And as for "the atrocious Act of 1662," one does not quite understand why it should be singled out for special vituperation from a multitude of Acts, at least equally atrocious, which the civil power has from time to time perpetrated as the patron or the handmaid of the Church. If Dr. Stanley refers to the ejection of the Nonconformist ministers, a great many more Episcopal ministers were turned out of doors under the genial rule of the Long Parliament, and in our own day half the clerical staff of the Presbyterian Establishment of Scotland was sacrificed for refusing to accept the very principle which he so warmly advocates. If there is to be an Established Church at all, uniformity of some kind is not, *pace* Dr. Stanley, an "accident," but a part of "its essence." The vehement attacks that have been made of late years, from the most opposite quarters, on the particular settlement effected by the Act of Uniformity, if they show—as they do—that there is a good deal to be said against it, will appear to most reasonable minds to indicate also that there is a good deal to be said in its favour. The Dean next proceeds to sweep away with a stroke of his pen, as mere "accidents" of a State Church, (1) its possession of endowments, (2) of any exclusive system of doctrine or polity, and (3) the delegation of power to a clerical body, which apparently means the existence of any distinct body of clergy at all. Most people will be disposed to fear that, after these "adjuncts" have been got rid of, the Established Church would be more like what Mr. Goldwin Smith somewhere calls "an Established chaos." But the speaker goes on, nothing daunted, to define—what certainly by this time must have seemed to his audience to require some definition—wherein "the essence lay" of the connexion of Church and State. We must plead guilty to being very obtuse, but after reading over the definition several times we have failed to extract any more specific meaning from it than that the State is, in some unexplained way, to endorse the religious sentiment of the majority of the nation, but is to tolerate everybody who does not indulge in the "fanatical excess" of having a strong religious sentiment of his own. We will give, however, the Dean's *ipsissima verba*, especially as he, or his reporter, has thought it necessary to italicize the least intelligible portion of them. He requires, then, "(1) that the State recognise the religious expression, the religious aspiration, of the community; and (2) that this religious expression be so controlled that excess or fanaticism may be avoided." No doubt any strong ecclesiastical organization, established or not, acts more or less as a check on individual fanaticism when it takes the unpleasant form of a fanatical interference with the liberty of other people. But Macaulay's memorable sarcasm about placing "Ignatius at Oxford and Wesley at Rome" might have reminded the Dean that a State Church is not always as happy in utilizing fanaticism as a Church which claims independence of the State. We cannot fairly complain of any lack of explicit statement in what follows. The Church is to be made as comprehensive as the nation, all subscription to creeds or formularies is to be abolished, "except perhaps the Apostles' Creed," and, if we rightly understand the speaker, all distinctions between clergy and laity are to be abolished too. He would "recognise every man as a minister who was capable of rendering good service to the community." This is at least liberal enough, and we cannot wonder at the admiring critic in the *Inquirer* observing that "it practically gives up the existing Establishment, and foreshadows a social revolution." The Dean clinches this programme by the startling assurance that "Gallio is his model statesman," though often reviled as a careless libertine, for he showed "the true judicial attitude towards petty sectarian squabbles of which he could take no cognizance." The illustration seems scarcely a happy one. Even supposing that the point at issue between St. Paul and the Jews was "a petty sectarian squabble," the particular matter which Gallio, according to the narrative, "cared not" to take cognizance of was the public beating of the Jewish Rabbi before the judgment seat. Justice Shallow acted in somewhat similar fashion, but he is not usually taken for a model judge. The Dean's next statement, however, is still more perplexing to the uninitiated. "Paul appealed to the tribunal of Cæsar, and thus recognised the supremacy of the State over the priesthood." If some votary of the Darwinian theory of species were to bring an action for libel against a zealous fanatic who denounced him publicly as an atheist, would Dr. Stanley say that, "by appealing to the tribunal of Victoria, he recognised the supremacy of the State over science?"

After descending on the "accidents" and the "essence" of a State Church, the Dean goes on to expound the benefits of this connexion. In the first place, "it secures to the Church the

supremacy of just and good laws." Why all laws of the Church should be necessarily unjust, and all laws of the State necessarily just, is not obvious at first sight. Nor is our difficulty diminished by remembering that the Dean began with denouncing as "atrocious" one of the most fundamental laws enacted by the State for the government of the Church of England. The second advantage of merging the Church in the State is that it affords scope for the growth of various opinions, and favours such changes as the State may see fit from time to time to effect. Of course, if there are to be no creeds and no subscriptions, the "un-chartered freedom" of the clergy—if there are to be any clergy—will be oppressed by no heavier burden than "the weight of chance desires." And equally of course, if the State is to rule the Church, it can change it as often and as much as it may think fit. The third advantage of this arrangement is, that it affords a refuge to humble and devout souls who might else be borne down by the current of local or transitory clamour. This is, we presume, a delicate allusion to the humble and devout soul of Dr. Colenso, who is at present borne down by the transitory clamour of Bishop Gray and Mr. Macrorie. Dr. Colenso has appealed, we know, to Cæsar, but whether this "petty sectarian squabble" will be settled by the model statesmanship of our modern Gallios, remains yet to be seen. On the whole, the catalogue of advantages strikes us as a little dubious, and the very meagre list of supposed objections which follows, and is rapidly disposed of, inevitably reminds one of the conventional infidel who is periodically demolished, to the entire satisfaction of his learned assailant, in village sermons on the Evidences of Christianity. The only objections to a State Church which the Dean thinks "cannot be overlooked" are, that it "impedes the free action of individuals," and that it introduces the corrupting influence of worldly position and social exclusiveness. The second point we need not dwell upon. But, as to the first, we doubt if so paradoxical a method of stating the anti-Erastian argument would have occurred to any one but the Dean of Westminster. The supremacy of law undoubtedly impedes that primitive ideal of savage life where every man's hand is against his brother, which Rousseau yearned for, but which the extreme of High Church dogmatists or radical Liberationists would as little desire to see restored as the "humble and devout souls" in whose behalf the speaker is pleading. What they object to is not the supremacy of law over individual caprice, for that is implied in the very existence of any community, secular or religious. The unrestricted exercise of private judgment in matters ecclesiastical is just as much repudiated practically by the Wesleyan Conference as by the Church of England, or the "Papal Church" herself, and for the same obvious reason. As Bishop Tait puts it concisely in his speech, "We must have order in the family even for the daily act of worship; hence the necessity of law in the Church." But High Churchmen and Dissenters, widely as they differ on many points, are agreed in this, that, to adopt Mr. Miall's words in his reply to the Dean, "religion is an inward spiritual principle," and the Church ought not "to render to Cæsar the things that belong to God." How far this is a fair criticism on the English Church it would take too long to discuss here, but there can be no doubt that it is a very pertinent criticism on Dr. Stanley's speech. His argument simply ignores from beginning to end—we are far from saying that he himself wishes to ignore—the existence of any such thing as a body of revealed doctrine which it is the business of the Church to inculcate. Yet this has been a fundamental principle with the immense majority of Christians in every age, and not least in our own, however they may have disagreed as to its application. What doctrine is to be taught must be fixed either by Church or State, for by the individual it cannot be fixed if there is to be any public teaching at all. The Dean's argument implies that the State should settle the matter, but we doubt—begging his pardon—if such a theory has ever been seriously maintained. Something like it was practically acquiesced in during the later years of Henry VIII.'s reign, when Papists and Protestants were indifferently burnt, the one party for maintaining the Pope's supremacy, the other for denying transubstantiation. Few persons at the present day would be inclined to think the State was right in both cases, or that, if Lambert was justly condemned for rejecting the Real Presence, Sir Thomas More was not wrongly condemned for declining to reject the Pope. During the short reign that followed, the full-blown theory of State supremacy in religion was maintained as a theory by the more advanced school of Reformers, but that was merely because the State had undertaken the maintenance of their own favourite beliefs. When "the monstrous regiment of women" signaled itself in the person of "Bloody Mary" by sending the wrong people to the stake, their Erastianism was soon scattered to the winds. This is the question which Dr. Stanley ought to have met, but which, as far as we can see, he has not even glanced at.

It so happens that the columns of the very paper which records Dr. Stanley's speech supply an instructive practical comment on the kind of harmony likely to prevail in the happy family which he wishes to see constituted under the guardianship of a creedless State. About the same time that the Dean of Westminster was lecturing his select audience at Sion College his very reverend brother of Carlisle, who is in his way an equally representative man, was addressing a more tumultuous assemblage, in his cathedral city, on Ritualism. Dean Close was not content with a vehement attack on the Archbishop of Canterbury for sending an Encyclical to "the false and corrupt Greek Church, whose worship is debased and degrading and superstitious in the



extreme," or even with uttering, in that spirit of Christian courtesy and Christian charity for which the party he represents is so laudably distinguished, the characteristic anathema, "Sooner be my hand withered than that I should hold it out to the Eastern or Western Churches!" He was kind enough, also, in his extreme wrath against his fellow-Churchmen, to volunteer a piece of advice to the Pope, to whom he supposed the Archbishop would next be writing. He hoped the Pope "would deal with the letter as he dealt with Dr. Pusey's *Eirenicon*, and nail it on his church door as farmers nail weasels, rats, and other vermin." We commend the passage to Dr. Stanley with one remark only. If these things are done in the green tree, what shall be done in the dry? At present the divergencies of Dr. Pusey and Dr. Close are at least in some degree controlled by their acceptance of a common formula. One positively trembles to think to what extent of bitterness they might grow in that "refuge of devout and humble souls" where all such barriers are broken down. The Bishop of London's speech was wide of the mark as a comment on the Dean's, for he was defending the Church of England as it is, and Dr. Stanley was advocating something as widely different—or, as his Unitarian critic words it, as revolutionary—as can well be imagined. But if we wanted to point our moral against State Churches altogether, we could hardly find a more effective weapon of attack than the Bishop has put into our hands in his concluding statement, that he feared England would become Unitarian if the connexion of Church and State were severed. If such men as Bishop Tait have no confidence in the inherent power of the Christianity they believe and teach, unless it is bolstered up by the strong arm of the State, we cannot be surprised at other people besides "Liberationists" beginning to ask whether a faith which can only stand upon crutches might not as well be dispensed with altogether. State support never yet galvanized into life a religion that had no independent vitality of its own. And a religion that has will not accept the gilded fetters which Dean Stanley wishes to impose on it.

#### HARROW, RUGBY, AND THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS BILL.

WHEN the celebrated letter appeared in which the Emperor of the French declared his intention of speedily crowning the edifice of constitutional liberty, there were many things good and bad, hopeful and gloomy, said on the subject; but it was generally considered that the happiest remark was that of M. Prévost-Paradol in one of the opposition journals. He printed the pleasing announcement, and added simply that one of the many advantages of being an absolute ruler was that one was able, on very frequent occasions, to make very liberal promises. It is in much the same spirit that any one whose disposition is other than sanguine might now receive the fourth edition of the Public Schools Bill. Seven years have now elapsed since the topic of School Reform was first mooted, and since the defeat of Lord Clarendon's unhappy essay in legislation in 1865 there has been little or no doubt as to the best method of procedure in the matter. Large powers granted temporarily to the governing bodies, subject to the approval of an Executive Commission; in the event of no reforms, or of none but unsatisfactory reforms during the limited period, a temporary delegation of the necessary powers to the Commission itself; a general enlargement of the powers of the governing bodies for the future, and a few special removals of statutory restrictions—these are the simple bases of the Bill which is now before Parliament. The only wonder is why it has taken three years to pass a measure which has never yet had to meet a hostile division. The only difference of importance which is to be found in the Bill of this year, as compared with that of last, is that the necessary provision is conceded that self-improvement shall be part of the duty suggested to the various Boards of Governors. They may now remodel their own constitutions and alter their own functions. It is to be hoped that they will do so, though, if the Provost and Fellows of Eton are found to jump at the opportunity, they are not the men we take them for. It would be worth a good deal to be present at the first meeting of that august, but somewhat decrepit, Board at which some venturesome reformer begins the task of "educating" his colleagues, and suggests that, though pay without work is dignified, it is better to do work than to lose pay.

There is one detail of the Bill which has attracted this year more notice than it had previously received, and upon which some misconception appears to exist, not only among some members of Parliament in whom misconceptions are not so much to be wondered at, but even among journals which rather pride themselves on the superior penetration which arises from their being published in the afternoon. It is that of the local privileges attaching to the towns of Harrow and Rugby, which it is proposed either to remove or at all events to modify. Stated roughly, and therefore quite inaccurately, the case represents itself at first sight thus. The founders of these schools intended a local educational benefit, and decreed that the children of Harrow and Rugby should have their schooling for nothing. At present many boys at these places receive the boon which is so provided, and are glad to get it. If this privilege is abolished, the towns are mulcted of an advantage they have long enjoyed, and a grievous injury is done. Therefore the proposal for its abolition is unjust.

There never was a case of which a little examination so completely altered the appearance. Between the above statement and that which represents the truth there is only the meagre similarity, that in both cases somebody enjoys something.

The boon itself is different from that originally intended; the funds from which it is provided are different; the persons who make use of it are different. Three hundred years ago John Lyon, yeoman, and Lawrence Sheriff, grocer, founded village schools for the farmers of their respective parishes. These have now become almost national institutions. No one will deny that the benefits derived from an education at either of them is something quite beyond what the founders ever anticipated. How has this change come about? Partly through causes which it is impossible to analyse; but certainly, in the main, through the assemblage at the two schools of other boys from all parts of the kingdom. The prestige of the two places has been raised by them; the wealth, the character, the higher standard of masters, the more elaborate appliances of teaching, the very buildings, in a great degree, are their work. If a foundationer at Harrow or Rugby learns Greek iambs or botany, the lessons he receives are, to speak plainly, partly paid for by the contributions of the other pupils. The fund at Harrow applicable to the education of foundationers is somewhat less than a thousand pounds; at Rugby it is twice as much, but there are more of them. And now, this being the position of the endowment, who are the persons who receive it? Is it the native population, the shopkeepers and farmers of the Middlesex and Warwickshire villages? Not in one case in forty. At Rugby an instance is hardly ever known; at Harrow there has not been, if we may trust the Commissioners' Report, a single one for many years. The recipients of the charity are the sons of ladies and gentlemen who are for the most part as migratory as the cuckoo. They come to reside at the town when their sons are fit for schooling, they live in it for a few years, and they go away. It is the rarest thing that a foundationer at either Harrow or Rugby should have been born in the place. The poorer class are not excluded, but they exclude themselves. Partly, no doubt, they are reluctant to send their sons into a society so much richer than their own; but it is probably the age to which the education of the higher classes is prolonged which is the most effectual barrier of separation from their neighbours. However this may be, the value which they lose in education is more than recouped by the wealth which the school brings to the place. Those who appropriate the privileges which the natives are content to abnegate or exchange are casual sojourners, whose connexion with the place is, in almost every case, wholly ephemeral. Doubtless they are included in the words of the founder's will. But if there existed by any chance a fund to enable the inhabitants of Gretna Green to provide themselves with a dowry at their marriage, it would be rather hard if all the runaway couples, on the strength of half an hour's sojourn, were to appropriate this money for their own use.

The Bill provides, first, that all existing interests shall be respected; and the margin which it allows is liberal. Then, that the local privileges as at present enjoyed shall cease. And from the money thus set free, or from a part of it, it permits the establishment of a secondary or middle-class school, for the benefit of those precise inhabitants whom John Lyon and Lawrence Sheriff contemplated, and whom the existing arrangement, through the mere force of circumstances, fails to include. Lastly, it is open to the governing bodies to create foundation scholarships, to be awarded by competitive examination, as is done at Eton and Winchester. Of the merits of the first of these substitutes some doubt may reasonably be felt. Two schools under one governing body have not generally prospered as well as they would if separated; one is generally sure to starve the other in money, or smother it in jobbery. And besides, the arrangement looks like an attempt to make the same sum go as near as possible towards doing double work. Here are a few hundred pounds a year to be devoted somehow to school purposes, we will say, at Harrow. What is the real interest of the place and of the school? Surely that what is well begun should be well carried on. If scholarships are needed, let them be founded; if fresh class-rooms are wanted, let them be built; if—what we cannot suppose likely—the head-master wants more salary, let him have it; if teachers of the most novel science of the day be required, let them be engaged. And if it be really the case that no good use is to be found for the money in any other direction, we will point out one which is plainly harmless, which is most highly desirable, and to which the founder himself might rise to give a special blessing—let the payments of the boys be reduced.

One cannot but wonder sometimes, in discussing such a question as this, whether the world would be very much more ignorant than it is if there were no such things as Foundations in existence. How would it be if every one, all over the country, had to pay, for the precise education which he wanted, exactly its fair price, and no more? How is it that so many schools which roll in endowments get on about as well or as badly, teach just about as much and as little, as so many of the schools which have to struggle for their lives? By endowments came the existence of jobs. And how many endowments there are which for all practical purposes might as well be invested in English railways, the coming Report of the School Commissioners may perhaps tell us. As far as the old public schools are concerned, there is plenty to be done in the mere straightforward line of abolishing and preventing sinecures. It is to be wished that the list of the Executive Commission which is contained in the Bill comprised some one or two men, if possible, rather strongminded than otherwise. As it is, there is one vacancy in the number, through the lamented death of Sir Edmund Head, which must be filled up in Committee. If the Government merely want a respectable

and highly-esteemed name to propose in his place, there are fifty to be had for the asking. It would not be hard to find among the Bar or at the Universities, or even in the Upper House, some combination of toughness of mind and mellowness of manner which would fill the place to the satisfaction of everybody. The thing to remember is, that the Bill means considerable change at some of the important public schools; and though it will not, as some enthusiasts seem to think, reform the theories of education of itself, and sweep away the Latin syntax at a blow, it will most certainly, if it be firmly carried out, leave the schools in a position in which they will be able to advance freely with the demands of the time, and themselves adopt those changes of study and method which are most successfully made by gradual and deliberate, and, above all, by spontaneous, choice.

#### GENERAL GRANT AND PRESIDENT JOHNSON.

AMERICAN politicians have never been much impressed with the advisableness of washing their dirty linen at home. They seem rather to think that the natural unpleasantness of the process will be dispelled by the fresh air of publicity. This healthy disregard of concealment has seldom been pushed further than in the correspondence between General Grant and the President which has lately been presented to the House of Representatives. One side of the case, as stated in these letters, had been given to the world a fortnight earlier. The discredit—or, more accurately, what would be the discredit in any other country—of thus dealing with Cabinet business certainly rests with the President. On such a point as this, however, every separate community must judge for itself. If the United States' public sees no objection to the communication, by the head of the Executive to a newspaper correspondent, of the gravest possible charges against the Commander-in-Chief, foreigners need not be more scrupulous. They may fairly take the facts as they find them, and compare the two stories without any preliminary qualms as to the propriety of their being submitted for comparison at all.

On the 13th of January the United States Senate determined not to concur in the removal of Mr. Stanton from the Secretaryship of War, and on the 14th of the same month General Grant handed over the possession of the War Office to his reinstated predecessor. Except these two facts scarcely anything is admitted on both sides. The President's account of the matter found its way into various newspapers—especially the *Washington National Intelligencer* and the *New York World*—almost immediately after the event; and the *Washington Correspondent* of the latter journal was further enabled to forward a detailed statement of what passed at a meeting of the Cabinet held on the 17th of January. Under this provocation General Grant wrote to the President on the 25th of January, giving his own version of the same facts. The President replied on the 31st in a letter which General Grant describes, in a rejoinder dated the 3rd of February, as “a reiteration, only somewhat more in detail, of the many and gross misrepresentations” contained in the newspaper accounts. It is this correspondence that has been laid before the House of Representatives, and we are consequently in a position to judge how far the characters of the two statesmen who have taken part in it are affected by its contents. President Johnson's story, as gathered from the newspapers, was this:—On Saturday, the 11th of January, General Grant gave him a verbal promise that, in the event of the restoration of Mr. Stanton by the Senate, he would either retain office until a judicial decision had been obtained, or resign in time to enable the President to appoint a successor who would hold it on the same terms. General Grant also assured the President that he would see him again on the following Monday, and inform him which of these courses he had decided to adopt. Instead of this, however, General Grant left matters to take their course, and contented himself with informing the President, on Tuesday morning, that he had received official notification of the action of the Senate with regard to Mr. Stanton, and that, according to the Tenure of Office Act, his functions as Secretary of War *ad interim* ceased immediately upon the receipt of such notice. Later in the same day, General Grant was summoned by the President to attend a meeting of the Cabinet. At this meeting, according to a statement made in the *World* on the authority of the President and four of his ministers, General Grant admitted that he had made these two promises, and excused himself for his non-fulfilment of the first on the plea that he had been “looking over the law,” and for his non-fulfilment of the second on the plea that he had been “very much engaged with General Sherman and many little matters.”

On the 25th of January General Grant gives his version of the story. He reminds the President that, some time after he had undertaken the duties of Secretary of War *ad interim*, he had, in answer to a question put to him by the President, stated his belief that Mr. Stanton could only obtain possession of the War Office through the medium of an appeal to a court of law. At this time General Grant declares he had not read the Tenure of Office Act. On doing so, however, at a later period, he found that to refuse to vacate the office the moment Mr. Stanton was reinstated would be a violation of the law. His visit to the President on Saturday the 11th was to inform him of this discovery, and “in doing this” he “fulfilled the promise” made in a preceding conversation. The President did not accept General Grant's interpretation of the law. On the contrary, he contended that the action of the Senate was unconstitutional, and consequently that General Grant's conduct

ought not to be governed by it. “I stated,” continues the General, “that the law was binding on me, constitutional or not, until it was set aside by the proper tribunal.” After a prolonged interview, as neither party could make any impression on the other, they separated; but no agreement was entered into on General Grant's part to call again on Monday, “or at any other definite time.” All that the President said was that he would see him again on the subject. Between Saturday the 11th and Monday the 13th, no doubt entered General Grant's mind as to the President's fully understanding his position. The first intimation to the contrary which reached him was the President's statement at the Cabinet meeting on the 14th. On hearing this, General Grant gave his own account of the various conversations. In doing this, he “in no wise admitted the correctness” of the President's version, though, “to soften the evident contradiction,” he allowed that in the first of the two interviews the President might have understood him the way he said.

The President's answer goes again over the same ground. He repeats that his first interview with General Grant “terminated with the distinct understanding” that, if upon reflection the latter should think it his duty to surrender the department at the bidding of the Senate, or should wish to remain aloof from the controversy, he would resign his office in time to enable the President to nominate a successor. This promise was renewed at the interview on Saturday, the 11th, and the President confidently expected to be informed of General Grant's final decision some time on the following Monday. Instead of this, the next communication which reached him from the General was the announcement that he had vacated the office in favour of Mr. Stanton. The President's “recollection of what transpired” at the meeting of the Cabinet on Tuesday the 14th is to the full as distinct and precise as General Grant's. He asserts that, “in the presence of the Cabinet,” he asked the General three questions—First, whether he had not, shortly after his appointment as Secretary of War *ad interim*, entered into the agreement already quoted. “This,” says the President, “you admitted.” Secondly, whether on Saturday the 11th the President had not, “to avoid misunderstanding,” requested General Grant to state the course he intended to take, and, further, whether the latter had not, by way of answer to this request, referred to the original conversation, and assured the President that his action would be in strict accordance with the understanding then arrived at. “To these questions,” the letter goes on, “you also replied in the affirmative.” Thirdly, whether it was not understood, at the close of the conference on Saturday, that it was to be followed by another on the Monday, before the Senate had taken final action. “You replied that such was the understanding, but that you did not suppose the Senate would act so soon, and that on Monday you had been . . . occupied with ‘many little matters.’” This narrative of the proceedings at the Cabinet meeting, which in every particular contradicts and is contradicted by that of General Grant, was read by the President to the members of the Cabinet who were present before the despatch of his letter of the 31st of January. “They, without exception, agreed in its accuracy.” In his second letter General Grant reasserts the correctness of the statements contained in his first, and confesses his surprise “that the Cabinet officers referred to should so greatly misapprehend the facts.” He then tells the President that he, the President, “knows” that the alleged promise of the 11th of January was never made, and concludes by saying, “I can but regard this whole matter from beginning to end as an attempt to involve me in the resistance of law, for which you hesitate to assume the responsibility, in order thus to destroy my character before the country.”

In reviewing this extraordinary correspondence the first thing that strikes us is the imprudence of the President in provoking it. He evidently regards Mr. Stanton's unopposed return to the War Office as a serious defeat. But it was a defeat which, if he had only kept his own counsel, need never have been known, and which would thus have been deprived of more than half its importance. Before the substance of the President's view of the case had been communicated to the newspapers, there were some shrewd observers who believed that he had declined to move in the matter, from a conviction that the recent policy of Congress would shortly give him a better opportunity of invoking the aid of the Supreme Court. This theory seemed to supply such a natural explanation of the facts that the President's silence would probably have given it almost universal currency. And it is certainly better policy to allow your enemy to think you have forborne giving him battle in order to do so with greater effect hereafter than to let him know that you have been inactive only because you were powerless. As to the right and wrong of the correspondence itself, so far as it deals with disputed facts, it is impossible to pronounce a definite opinion. There has been either an astonishing and unaccountable series of misunderstandings, or something a great deal worse on one side or the other. If only the President and General Grant were concerned, we should have no hesitation in accepting the former alternative. Everyday experience shows what radically different versions may be given of an “understanding” which was never reduced to writing, and at the discussion of which no third person was present. The difficulty, in this instance, is that the President's statement of what was said at the Cabinet meeting is attested by four witnesses; and it is almost inconceivable that, if General Grant did not make the admissions attributed to him, some of the Ministers present should not have detected the inconsistency between the President's statement and the real facts. It is



not necessary, however, to pass judgment upon this part of the story in order to determine the merits of General Grant's conduct. Even on his own showing, he has been guilty of some rather sharp practice towards his executive superior. He admits that, at the first of the interviews so often referred to, he gave it as his opinion that Mr. Stanton, even in the event of his restoration by the Senate, would have "no resource but to appeal to the Courts," and that he further promised to let the President know if he changed his mind. His own letter testifies to his knowledge that the President's sole motive for desiring such a promise was that he might, if need be, replace General Grant by some more thoroughgoing supporter. Indeed, except for this, the Commander-in-chief's opinion on a point of law could have had neither interest nor value. When, therefore, General Grant pleads that, in calling on the President on Saturday the 11th, he fulfilled this promise, he leaves out of sight the important fact that the only way of fulfilling it under the circumstances was to surrender his office. The President brings out this inconsistency with a great deal of force. "You had found," he says, "in our first conference that the President was desirous of keeping Mr. Stanton out of office, whether sustained in the suspension or not. You know what reasons had induced the President to ask from you a promise. You also knew that, in case your views of duty did not accord with his own convictions, it was his purpose to fill your place by another appointment. . . . It is certain, however, that, even under these circumstances, you did not offer to return the place to my possession." Even if no promise had been given, General Grant ought not, with the full knowledge of the President's intentions possessed by him, to have hesitated a moment about resigning his office as soon as he found he could no longer act as an instrument for carrying out those intentions. So long as his resignation was withheld the President naturally counted on his support; and, for the long argument which he describes himself as having held with the President on Saturday the 11th, there should have been substituted the most unmistakable act of resignation. In this respect it is impossible to acquit General Grant. It is to be regretted that his present relations with the Republican party should supply an obvious motive for conduct of which, in the absence of that pressure, he would probably have been incapable.

#### INTERNATIONAL BOAT-RACING.

IT is too frequently the lot of the journalist to comment on endless series of correspondence between England and America. The diplomatic intercourse to which we are about to call attention has two or three merits which take it out of the ordinary category. In the first place, it is short and to the point. There are no appeals to profound authorities on international law or to first principles of philosophy; and the disputants confine themselves to the most pithy statement of their cases, and bring the matter to the simplest possible issue. In the next place, they are perfectly civil, and evidently desirous to bring the matter to a satisfactory conclusion. And finally, if the negotiations fall through in spite of the best wishes on both sides, they will afford no sort of pretext for future ill-will. We have, therefore, studied the correspondence between the representatives of Oxford and of Harvard without having the smallest difficulty in preserving our temper and, we hope, an attitude of perfect impartiality. The main point in dispute, which, so far as can be seen at present, is likely to bring the negotiation to a fruitless end, is really one of some difficulty.

The American oarsmen desire to bring about a match with Oxford. The challenge is in every way gratifying, and ought to be met in a friendly spirit. It is pleasant to find that Young America, of which we are accustomed to hear as devoting itself exclusively to tobacco-smoking and discussion societies, is taking up manly sports in good earnest, and that the young men of the Transatlantic Cambridge show their national spirit of enterprise in proposing to meet the most celebrated rowing amateurs of the Old World. Such contests always increase the good feeling of the competitors; and the enthusiastic Yankees should be met more than half way, and encouraged by every fair concession to come and do friendly battle with the representatives of the old country. The match would be as superior in interest to the great fight of Sayers and Heenan as the competitors are in every way above the blackguards who are ruining the prize-ring. So far every one will be agreed. Moreover, the Americans propose to place themselves at the disadvantage of crossing the Atlantic in order to row in England. This would be really against them, not merely as increasing the cost and the difficulty of getting a crew together, but because ten days of sea-sickness would be a very bad preparation for training. The time proposed for the race, the month of September, would doubtless make it troublesome to collect an English crew; but it would probably be equally inconvenient for their competitors. So far, then, the Americans may fairly claim that any concessions should be made rather by the English than by themselves. But now occurs the question, whether the concession which they actually demand is not too great for Oxford to grant, with a due regard for the chances of a fair contest.

The Americans have invented a plan for rowing without coxswains. The ingenious devices for sparing labour which are so characteristic of their country are curiously exemplified in this peculiarity. It is plain that, if the steering is equally good, it would give a great advantage. To carry eight stone more in a

boat is perhaps as distinct a handicap as for a horse to carry eight pounds extra weight on his back. It is impossible to speak positively as to the precise effect which would be produced, without an experience which we do not possess in this country. Still every one knows that the effect produced by a slight addition of weight is much greater than might be supposed by the uninitiated; if it merely reduces the speed so as to make the difference of one or two boat's lengths in three miles, that difference might be quite sufficient to decide the race. The American answer to this difficulty is at first sight plausible enough. If, they say, you are convinced that your method of steering is the best, by all means adopt it. You shall row with coxswains, and we will row without. If, on the other hand, you believe our way to be the best, why do you not learn it between this time and September, that we may then meet on equal terms? The answer made by Oxford to this dilemma requires a little examination. The Oxford President grants that on a straight piece of water the American plan would answer best, and it is one of their conditions that the race should take place over a straight course. But on any of the English rivers, and certainly on the Isis, where the Oxford crew must necessarily have most of their practice, it is essential to carry a coxswain. Indeed, the Isis—although, as compared with the tortuous and narrow Cam, it may be dignified with the name of river—would be a mere rivulet in America. Steering from the bow would be quite insufficient to get round sharp corners in a swift stream. Hence, if an Oxford crew were to meet the Americans on a straight reach, they would be at the disadvantage either of carrying a coxswain, or of having practised without a coxswain and adopting the new method for the first time when they began to row upon the appointed course. It is plain that the race could not be rowed, under these circumstances, upon perfectly equal terms.

As, however, we have argued that it is our turn to make concessions, we may still ask whether Oxford might not give away some advantage, especially to a University in which the art of rowing is still a novelty. We do not suppose that the difficulty of learning to row upon a straight course without coxswains can be really very great. Every good oarsman is accustomed to steer a pair-oared boat without any help from a rudder. The difficulty of keeping time and swing, and at the same time twisting your head into an abnormal position, is doubtless considerable, but it is very much greater in the pair-oared boat, where precision of rowing is even more essential, and where the steering has to be effected by the difficult process of adjusting your strength to that of your companion. Narrow as the Isis may be, and sharp as are some of its corners, it would be possible, with a little care, to secure some preliminary practice before the end of the May term. The course of training for the proposed race would necessarily be at some other place than Oxford; and we do not imagine that there could be any insuperable difficulty in finding, even in England, a straight reach of water of sufficient length. Lynn, for example, which has been proposed as the scene of the contest, has an appropriate river, although it must be admitted that the fens are not a very lively place of residence for a crew in training, or indeed for anybody else. The Henley course is sufficiently straight, though it is little over a mile in length; still that length would be quite sufficient to acquire the art of steering. It is impossible to say, without greater experience than we possess in England, what is the real difficulty of acquiring the art. It is possible that some difficulty would be found in getting the mechanical contrivance to work properly. Yet we do not suppose that any of the chief English boat-builders would consider such a task as beyond the reach of their skill. Hence, if the Americans make the absence of a coxswain an essential condition of rowing, we believe that, by taking a little trouble, it would be possible for the Oxford men to meet them on terms not hopelessly unequal. And it may be said that, if the problem is simply to make a boat go through the water as fast as possible, we ought not to reject any contrivance by which that end may be attained. In all such challenges it is better to have as few extraneous conditions as possible, and simply to decide which of two boats, improved in every way that the skill of their proprietors can suggest, will cross a given space in the shortest time.

On the other hand, we must give due weight to another point raised by the Oxford correspondence. If it is possible for Englishmen to learn the art of rowing without a coxswain, it is certainly easier for Americans to acquire the art of carrying a coxswain. The reason is obvious. The first art can only be practised in certain selected places, of which there are, unluckily, very few in England. At Cambridge it would simply be impossible to practise it at all. At Oxford it could only be practised under great difficulties. But the contrary plan of carrying a coxswain may, of course, be tried anywhere. The Americans can easily try it on their own water, and they will have the whole summer in which to practise. As it is proposed that the race should take place on some straight reach, it will not require anything beyond the rudiments of the art of steering. Any one can keep a boat's head pointing straight in one direction on such a sluggish piece of water as the Ouse at Lynn. Hence the concession which the Americans decline is distinctly less than that which they demand from Oxford. We do not believe that their chance of success would be materially damaged by it, whilst no one can say for certain what might be the injury to Oxford. If, for example, the Oxford men had learnt the art of steering imperfectly and ran into the bank halfway over the course, it would be a singularly unsatisfactory conclusion. It might leave a doubt upon the main

question, which of the two crews were, on the whole, the most effective oarsmen; and it would simply prove that Oxford had been beaten from want of proficiency in an art which they had had no good opportunity for acquiring.

If we endeavour to sum up the result, we should say that the Oxford proposal, on the whole, involves the least sacrifice. If both parties were equal in every other respect, we should say that it had decidedly the best arguments in its favour. On the other hand, we do not believe that the objections to the American proposal are insuperable, though they are distinctly greater. And, as we started by assuming that Oxford was bound to make the greatest concessions, we should be glad to see them accept the offer in spite of its obvious difficulties. In short, we hold that the race might be rowed with tolerable fairness on either terms, although we should prefer the Oxford terms, as on the whole causing the least disadvantage to the party which makes the concession. If rival crews could only be brought together, they would probably learn something from each other, and some satisfactory plan might be discovered of arranging any future meetings.

In a case like this, where, if we are right, either party might give way to its antagonists without dishonour, some kind of arbitration or compromise might possibly be accepted. When Hammill rowed Kelly, there were two races on consecutive days, according to the different fashions of the countries. Would it not be possible for such a plan to be carried out in the present instance? It would be easy to provide an English boat, and even, if necessary, a coxswain, with which the Americans might row the first race. If they won it, it would be so much the more glory to them. If they were beaten, they might try to reverse the decision in a boat of their own style. The comparison thus obtained of the rival styles would not be necessarily conclusive; but enough materials would be afforded, and the two nations would be brought together with a fair chance that each might depart glorying in its own success—a happy result which is scarcely to be obtained on the ordinary system. If arbitration is applicable to this international difficulty, we might suggest the author of *Tom Brown* as a gentleman who would certainly appreciate the Oxford case, and at the same time would be trusted in America. Arbitrators have often great difficulty in preserving the peace, but surely they should be able to bring about a contest.

#### MR. GLADSTONE AND THE TRADES' UNION DEPUTATION.

ON Tuesday the Trades' Union delegation, according to an arrangement of some standing, met Mr. Gladstone at his house, in order to take the great Liberal statesman to task for his Oldham speech, in which he expressed his objections, and the objections of other sensible folks, to the action of Trades' Unions on the limitation of labour. It was a civil thing—or, if we could conceive the possibility of so grave a personage as Mr. Gladstone committing a joke, it was a funny thing—to consent to the interview. The Trades' Unionists felt that it was necessary to handicap the horses; so they sent ten of their members, headed by the fluent Mr. George Potter, and tailed by the tried eloquence of Mr. Hartwell—the Artwell of the Trafalgar Square meetings of last year—to cope with the rushing tide of Mr. Gladstone's exuberant talk. From which we infer the formula that it requires ten practised stump-orators to equal a single Gladstone, which is probably a tolerably accurate approximation to an estimate of Mr. Gladstone's elocutionary and conversational capabilities. Certainly the Decemvirs met with their match in the Dictator. The working-men simply produced their old platitudes, and must have felt very uncomfortable, and certainly they did not talk at ease. It is one thing to gabble and chatter in the *Beehive*, and to spout at pothouses, but quite another thing to talk face to face with an educated man whose whole life has been devoted to the successful study of history and scientific economy, whose official career has made him familiar with the trade of the whole world, and who surveys demand and supply, and the laws which regulate them, not under the petty and narrow aspects of a single trade or shop, but as they work in the great competition of the world. At any rate, if the delegates went with the complacent hope that they were going to make a distinguished convert, they must have quitted Carlton Terrace with the vague suspicion that they had been out-talked. Mr. Gladstone's speech or lecture was a model in its way. He seems to have adopted the method of some successful popular preachers. The subject before them was not Trades' Unions generally, or the right of working-men to combine ("and, speaking of rights, let me," says the exuberant preacher, "give you a few hints on rights; let me distinguish about rights and duties; let me point out that a man may have a right, but may be wrong in exercising it; let me observe that rights are of two kinds, of several kinds," &c.), but—not entering into these subordinate matters, which nevertheless he did enter into and thoroughly exhaust—confining himself to the right of combination, he begged leave to hint that benefit societies might or might not be connected with trade rules. Then about benefit societies, he was told that they should not be confined to a single trade. But this was not "our immediate subject." And so Mr. Gladstone went on discussing, more or less exhaustively, a great many other points which were not our immediate subject, till he must have very considerably muddled the great delegate mind. And so, when he came to the immediate subject, he took occasion to enlarge on several, indeed a good many, cognate, but not immediate, points; such as co-operative associations, tribunals of reference and

mediation between masters and workmen, the question of limitation of labour in the case of women and children, ten hours' Acts, and twenty other questions of the same somewhat irrelevant kind—irrelevant, that is, in the sense that they were not exactly what the talkers came together to talk about, but very relevant indeed to the whole subject of Trades' Unions. This was, we repeat, very ingenious in Mr. Gladstone. It was designed to suggest to Mr. George Potter and his fellow-delegates that the interview was a perfect farce and absurdity from first to last; that it was totally impossible to discuss the limitation of apprentices, or the *minimum* of wages, or the *maximum* of working hours, without a reference to many and much larger considerations. And more than this was implied and suggested by Mr. Gladstone, though it is quite a question whether Mr. Potter saw it—namely, that it was a mistake to suppose that Mr. Gladstone meant anything by his affected modesty and teachableness and humble desire to be instructed and better informed. To be sure he said that he was quite ready to go to school and to sit at Mr. Potter's feet; but Mr. Gladstone doubtless had in his mind some recollection of those academical days in which a brilliant first-class man indulges in the pleasantry of flooring his examiners.

As we have said, we can scarcely credit the Potter mind with seeing the fun latent in all this Noodle and Doodle work. Mr. Potter is wrapped up in so thick a hide of conceit as to be perfectly and totally insensible to this sly sort of ridicule. We can quite believe that he has all along taken Mr. Gladstone *au grand sérieux*; and Mr. Potter is certainly the man to be entirely sincere in the dull complacency of his hallucination that he really can instruct Mr. Gladstone. We give him the credit, such as it is, of sincerity when from the lofty heights of his own superior intelligence he looks down with disdain on such as ourselves and our stereotyped fallacies. Mr. Potter treats us with a noble contempt; he cannot condescend to deal with mere speakers and writers. Mr. Gladstone, however, is a foeman worthy of his steel. But he little suspected that even the great Mr. Gladstone only permitted the controversy, or interview, or conversation just to show to what a height of impudence the Unionists really could soar. There is such a thing as giving rope enough. Mr. Potter's extreme denseness of apprehension was shown by his hint that what he expected of the interview was that the deputation would succeed in "showing that Mr. Gladstone's remarks at Oldham were incorrect," and further, that Mr. Gladstone "would be pleased to admit as much." We do not wish to be rude, and we shall not quite say that the force of impertinence could no further go; but the spectacle is an instructive one as showing what are the lengths to which self-complacency and unpardonable conceit can draw a person who is not by any means a fool. If Mr. Potter really meant anything, he must have meant that Mr. Gladstone was possessed by a total and blank and complete ignorance of the whole subject. The ten talkers looked as though they were University Professors in the Chair lecturing undergraduates, say, on the contents of the Vedas, or cuneiform inscriptions, for the first time. Mr. Potter prated to Mr. Gladstone—Mr. Gladstone the Apostle of Free-trade, the slaughterer of Corn-laws, the framer of French treaties, and the simplifier of tariffs—as though Protection and Monopolies were the one and certain Gospel about which there could be no mistake; and that Mr. Gladstone was a blind Ethnic and Pagan, who wanted to be taught this creed for the first time. With consummate skill and delicacy Mr. Gladstone managed to play the interesting neophyte, and, under the civil mockery of a disciple desiring to be taught, just hinted and suggested the little weaknesses and slight slipperinesses of the new faith which was presented to him by the Evangelist of Protection. He (Mr. Gladstone) had heard of some rather awkward and ugly things; possibly it might not be true what was rumoured about the trades' custom of refusing to dress stone in the quarry, or the other regulation about extra hours, or a third rule about lime-washing, &c. Had Mr. Potter any answer? Mr. Potter was prudentially silent.

And there were other things on which a more significant and eloquent silence prevailed during the interview. Mr. Gladstone, being the host, could not perhaps be required to go into them; and Mr. Potter was too wary to refer to what, after all, were the only matters in which any human being could be expected to feel any interest. The apprentice question, and piecework, and the right of Unionists to dictate to employers are not theoretical questions, to be debated in the serene atmosphere of essays and polemical discussions; but they are substantial facts. We are concerned with them, not as questions of the schools or of sophists, but as factors of society. As regards Trades' Unions and Unionists, we do not care what their views and theories are, but what they come to. We look at them, not as ventilated, as they say, at Bolt Court, or even in Carlton Terrace, but as acted out at Sheffield and Manchester. We wonder whether Mr. Gladstone's library table on Tuesday last presented the Minutes of Evidence taken by the Overend Commission to the eyes of the deputation. We should be disposed to fancy that it was there; and that somehow or other the mere sight of that horrible book, written within and without with lamentation and mourning and woe, must have paralysed the voluble tongues of the deputation. The ten talkers prattled and muttered much as if they were fascinated and spell-bound. Whether they saw the dreadful Report or not, it must have been in their mind's eye, and spoiled their talk. Considering that we know what Sheffield trade regulations come to in practice, it is very superfluous to prove anything about Trades' Unionism in general. We do, as a matter of fact, know



that Mr. Potter's pretty theories, when translated into the ugly vernacular of contemporaneous history, mean murder and arson. That injured saint on whom a sad necessity was laid to hire assassins, Mr. Broadhead of Sheffield, with many tears and much compunction regretted that he was obliged to murder people in the interests of trade; he said, and said weeping, that if he could have carried out the theory of the limitation of labour without air-guns and infernal machines he would have been most glad to do so. But somehow he could not; and he did not see how it ever could be done unless the State gave full and unlimited powers to Trades' Societies not only to make, but to enforce, whatever trade rules they thought fit. Between him and Mr. Potter there is no difference of principle as to the necessity of compelling obedience to Union law. They do differ at present as to the means, but not as to the thing itself. In the face of this huge practical consideration, with which all the world is concerned, in which is involved not only the existence of English trade, but the possibility of the disruption of society generally, it may be not a very culpable, but almost an amusing, waste of an afternoon to gossip about the trades which do, and the trades which do not, like many or few apprentices; but the real issue is between Trades' Unions and mankind. And if Mr. Potter and his ten henchmen cannot see this, it will be necessary to force the knowledge upon them.

#### THE ABYSSINIAN EXPEDITION.

SOMEHOW or other the Abyssinian Expedition appears to hang fire. Doubtless people in England anticipated much more rapid results from the descent of a British army on the shores of the Red Sea, and its operations against the semi-savage ruler of an almost unknown country. Distance diminishes difficulty both to our bodily and mental vision. It is hard to realize that, in such an out of the way place as Abyssinia, Magdala is as far from Annesley Bay as Edinburgh is from London, and that it must, under the most favourable conditions, take Sir Robert Napier as long to move from the port of debarkation to Magdala as it would take an army of equal size to that under him to make its own road from the capital of England to that of Scotland, and to carry with it all its supplies of food, ammunition, and medicine, not only for the advance, but also for the return journey. Yet such is literally the case, except that Sir Robert Napier's task is considerably more difficult. The country which he has to traverse is known only to be intersected with tangled chains of mountains, and he suffers under the enormous disadvantage of a great scarcity, if not absolute want, of water—a disadvantage under which no army has ever before operated over any great distance. The popular mind does not recognise these difficulties. It can see only Magdala and the captives in the distance, and the popular voice appears inclined to howl, like a spoilt child blubbering for the moon, because the bright object seen afar off cannot be obtained in a moment.

The Expedition was undoubtedly detained by the petty interferences of the Government of Bombay with the Commander-in-Chief. The organization of the Land Transport Train—upon which, as was foreseen, so much would depend—was not allowed to be conducted by Sir Robert Napier, nor even in accordance with his views. The Government of Bombay may possibly have imagined that to itself was revealed some miraculous method of organizing a Transport Train, without much of a controlling element, and with almost no discipline. The miracle, unfortunately, did not come off. The first touch of African soil dissipated the governmental fabric, and the advanced portions of the Abyssinian Expedition found themselves on the shores of the Red Sea without any adequate means of locomotion. Matters went quickly from bad to worse. Mules strayed, were lost, and died of the epidemic. The Arab muleteers could not understand, nor be understood by, the Indian or Anglo-Nubian inspectors. In such a scene of confusion, it was perfectly wonderful that so many animals could be collected together as were absolutely necessary to feed from day to day the parties employed in reconnoitring the country, and the detachments of troops employed in road-making or stationed in the Komaylo Pass.

The reconnoitring party which preceded the Expedition left Bombay on the 16th of September, and reached Massowah on the 1st of October. Massowah did not appear suitable as a port of debarkation, and on the 3rd the reconnoitring party moved to Annesley Bay. Water was here found at a mile's distance from the shore. Unfortunately, this water was due to a late fall of rain, and disappeared in a few days. Permanent, though small, supplies of water were, however, found at Komaylo and Wah, fourteen and sixteen miles from the coast. Annesley Bay, from the advantages of its harbour and from the not total absence of water, was selected as the most favourable landing-place to be found. An unsuccessful attempt to discover a pass to the highlands from the southern extremity of Annesley Bay consumed valuable time, till the 4th of November, when the reconnoitring party returned. By the 13th of November the Komaylo Pass was explored to within a few miles of Senafe, and it was found to be practicable to make a road through it for the passage of the force. The Huddar Pass was then explored, but did not offer equal advantages with that of Komaylo. On the 5th of December Senafe was accordingly occupied by a detachment of infantry and some guns. The issue of the defile was thus secured, and working parties were posted at the most difficult places in the pass, to improve

the road. The country towards Atugerat was reconnoitred, but few supplies were found, and it was already evident that the shipping must be the mainstay of supply for the Expedition. While the passes were being explored, troops arrived, and by the 3rd of January, when Sir Robert Napier in person reached Annesley Bay, there were one native cavalry regiment, five native infantry battalions, two British battalions, eight companies of engineers, and four batteries of artillery encamped at Zoulla, or scattered along the seventy miles which lie between that place and Senafe.

Though the Commander-in-Chief on his arrival found troops, he found little else. The defective organization of the Transport Corps had come to a climax, and the slender garrison of Senafe was living from hand to mouth. The dislocated Transport Train could hardly supply them with their daily requirements. Commissariat supplies at Zoulla were limited. Sir Robert Napier had, in September, requested that six months' commissariat supplies for the whole force might then be despatched to Annesley Bay. The Government of Bombay, believing that the prisoners would be given up as soon as the first scarlet coat was seen upon the shore, or for some other weighty reason, did not despatch these supplies until so late that they only arrived at Annesley Bay at the same time as the Commander-in-Chief himself.

Nor was this the worst which Sir Robert Napier found upon his arrival at Zoulla. Unexpected spring tides threatened to swamp the commissariat stores already landed. Working parties of large strength had to be employed incessantly in constructing dykes to protect goods which even one dash of salt-water would have destroyed. The railway to Komaylo required constant working parties; the piers and landing-places had to be carefully looked to and completed. All these labours taxed heavily the energies of the troops. Of these there were not many at Zoulla. The accounts of all travellers had caused it to be believed that the country between the mountains and the sea would be most unhealthy for Europeans. The state of the Land Transport Train prevented troops being landed and immediately marched to the highlands, as there, under existing circumstances, they would have starved. The apprehensions of disease on the sea coast were not realized, but occasional symptoms of diarrhoea showed that it would have been hazardous to collect a multitude of men on the desert plain between the landing-place and the mountains. Consequently the departure of several regiments from India was postponed. Such was the state of affairs Sir Robert Napier found at Annesley Bay. Without an efficient Transport Train an advance was impossible. The Commander-in-Chief's first necessary care was to reform his transport; and he was forced to do in January at Zoulla what, had his suggestions been attended to by the Bombay Government, would have been done in September in India. Not till the latter end of January were his preparations completed, or any sufficient stock of provisions collected at Senafe to allow of the advance of any considerable mass of troops. The moment it was possible the advance commenced. On January 25th the Commander-in-Chief left Zoulla, and on the 29th reached Senafe. On the 30th Atugerat, thirty-six miles in advance of Senafe, was occupied; and intervening stations were taken up by infantry and engineer detachments where they could conveniently work upon the roads. Troops from Zoulla were pushed up to the highlands, and in a few days a general advance upon Autalo was anticipated. The road through the Komaylo pass had in the meantime, with immense labour, been made practicable for wheels. Carts were already substituted for the slower and more expensive pack transport. Accumulations of provisions were being made at Senafe; and the road across the highlands was being rendered rapidly fit for the further progress of carts.

It may suit some, for political purposes or as a party cry, to declaim against the progress of the Expeditionary force, and to denounce it as tardy. Those who do so, however, must be either ignorant of war or dishonest of purpose. The Expedition itself may be a mistake, but those into whose hands its active prosecution has been placed cannot be fairly taxed with either want of energy or laxity of execution. The difficulties have been enormous. The want of water has been most trying. At Zoulla every drop consumed had to be obtained by condensation. In the pass itself, the precious fluid had to be collected and stored with the same care as the most precious treasure. The construction of the road to Senafe, which is over seven thousand feet above the level of the sea, would have been a work of no mean engineering difficulty in a civilized country, with every requisite appliance. It can be easily imagined how difficult this work was when done in the rough under a tropical sun, and with a scanty supply of drinking-water.

A breakdown in the Transport Train is so much the usual event at the commencement of a British campaign that people may be inclined to accept it almost as a necessary evil. It should be remembered, however, in the present case, that had those who were to use the transport been allowed to organize it, the breakdown would, in all probability, not have occurred, and a few months' delay might have been saved. The same applies to any deficiency of commissariat stores at Zoulla. Yet, had Zoulla teemed with every luxury until the Transport Train was reformed, no troops could have been securely fed on the highlands. *Le secret de la guerre est dans les communications* is an old maxim, and until its communications can be kept open an army must remain a hopeless hungry mass, and be held, even by the most dashing general, in a state of impatient activity. In Abyssinia more than

in any other theatre of war is this true. For no supplies except meat are to be obtained in the country, and the very forage for the horses has to be brought up from the shipping.

#### PICTURES OF THE YEAR.

##### II.

**MR. GEORGE LESLIE'S** pictures in the last Academy Exhibition gave us so much pleasure that, although with some reserves about his love of formality, we spoke of them with cordial praise. We had little doubt that Mr. Leslie was producing a kind of art in which the quaintness and delicacy of his taste found a full and natural expression, and we spoke of his works with the respect due to things which are at the same time both interesting and uncommon, and perfectly genuine in their kind. But Mr. Leslie's election as an Associate of the Academy, though it cannot alter our opinion of his performances, leads us into a train of reflections of a different order. The honours of the Academy, even the minor one of Associateship, ought to be reserved for full artistic accomplishment, and although we have not for the last two years entertained any doubt that Mr. Leslie would ultimately qualify himself for a position of this kind, his election seems somewhat premature. His conception is always simple and right, and his taste refined, but his actual workmanship as a painter is yet considerably below the point of mastery. In saying this we have no wish to imply any desire that he should imitate the execution of more accomplished painters; his way of work is good for his particular stage of culture, and in all likelihood the best preparation for higher things, but it is still distinctly boyish, and there is a visible timidity in the touch which, although infinitely preferable to the impudence of many less competent students, is nevertheless, in our view, a sufficient reason for withholding official recognition. It might easily happen that the rank of Associate, when conferred upon an artist in this stage of advancement, might be a positive injury to his art, but we trust that Mr. Leslie will not allow it to interfere with the steady pursuit of studies which in his case have hitherto been regularly, if not rapidly, progressive. The best course for Mr. Leslie, after the first noise of congratulation is over, will be to forget the change in his external position; and the kindest one for his critics will be to speak of his works rather as those of a careful and true student, who has still much to learn, than of an artist who has attained the power of complete expression. These observations are sufficiently borne out by Mr. Leslie's picture of "Polly Peachum," in Mr. Wallis's Winter Exhibition in the French Gallery. The figure of the girl is conceived with great simplicity and truth, but the execution is anxious and irresolute. Two water-colour portraits, "Barbara" and "Olive," in the Dudley Gallery, convey less the impression of weakness; the colouring is very delicate and right, and marked by the utmost moderation.

Mr. H. Roberts has exhibited, in the French Gallery, a picture which has attracted deserved attention to a formerly unknown name. It is entitled "The Acrobat's Rehearsal," and the scene is the interior of a poor lodging, in which an acrobat is teaching his little girl to walk on stilts. The picture is very cleverly painted, and proves much observation of character. There is scarcely a painter now living, in our school, who would have better represented the peculiar combination of a teacher's discipline with a father's affection visible in the good-humoured face of the man in white tights. The two brothers, near the fireplace, are both very admirably realized; the little girl on stilts seems to us somewhat less so, though her movement, with hands extended for balance, is perfectly accurate. The picture is painted, as we have said, skilfully as to manual execution, but the distribution of light and dark is somewhat too obvious in artistic intention. For instance, the black mass of the fireplace is brought just behind the little girl, to give her additional prominence, but the opposition is somewhat unpleasantly violent, and the picture at a distance gives little promise of the pleasure it affords when we come nearer. With so much dramatic force and such considerable artistic skill, Mr. Roberts ought to be able to make a reputation. Much will depend upon the range of his faculties, but if he understands other classes of society as well as he does this, he will not long remain in obscurity.

Another picture in the same gallery which has given us much pleasure is that by Mr. M. W. Ridley, entitled "Hope Deferred maketh the Heart Sick." The subject is a handsome lady on a sofa in an English drawing-room. The picture has been spoken of slightly by some critics, on account of its obvious relation to the works of Whistler, but we cannot see any reason why an artist is to be blamed for profiting by the experience of another artist, especially when, as in this instance, he has thoroughly assimilated it and added to it something of his own. The very possibility of progress in the fine arts is the frank acceptance of the experience of others; and an artist is not more to be blamed for following a track which has been opened to him by another, than a traveller for crossing the Atlantic because Columbus had done it before him. It may be remarked, however, that artists are seldom blamed for taking up and continuing those forms of art which are popularly approved of. If you imitate a number of people, you are not accused of imitation at all; but if you imitate an exception, it will be said that you ape him. If Mr. Ridley had taken up the most popular art of the day, no one would have found fault with a simple conformity with the prevailing

taste; but because he has availed himself of the experience of a master whom it is easy to mention by name, his own especial qualities are denied, and his picture is considered to be a plagiarism from Whistler, though there is as much difference between it and the work of the painter of the "Woman in White" as there is between Fichel and Meissonnier. Several English artists have during the last few years, endeavoured to develop the capabilities of opaque colour, and have been led by a natural reaction from the thin transparent glazes and shining varnishes of their predecessors to try what could be done in pure dead colour, employed on the principles of fresco. Some very beautiful results have already been achieved in this direction; and we have from time to time praised works, for beauty of colour, in which some of the most alluring technical processes were altogether omitted. This picture by Mr. Ridley is a very admirable work of its class; the colour is exceedingly delicate and beautiful, and there is a high artistic refinement in the conception and representation of objects. The student may here observe that there is no necessary connexion between an opaque medium and opaque workmanship. The picture is painted in dead colour, yet it is full of transference wherever transference was required.

So far as we have yet seen, the most perfect study of tonality in the Dudley Gallery is a small drawing by Mr. Binyon, entitled "Acqua fresca della Fontana." A girl is coming to the house with water from the fountain. There is no glimpse of sky or landscape, and the background of the picture consists entirely of the wall of a cottage, with the doorway. The extreme simplicity of the subject has no doubt been greatly in favour of the artist's success, and it is very possible that Mr. Binyon's knowledge of tonality, considerable as it appears to be, might not carry him so safely through more complex material. Taking this little work, however, simply on its own merits, we have no hesitation in describing it as truly precious. There is not a shadow nor a gradation nor a reflection in the whole drawing which has not been thoroughly studied and understood, not only in itself, but in its relation to everything else.

Mr. Holman Hunt's water-colour of the "Ponte Vecchio" at Florence is an impressive rendering of a night effect. There are no figures, nothing but buildings and water, with a glimpse of very dark sky. The old bridge over the Arno still retains the houses which often gave so much grandeur to the bridges of the middle ages, and which modern builders invariably object to. The Florentine houses to the right of Mr. Hunt's picture are not in themselves either beautiful or picturesque, but at the time of night he has chosen to represent they are starred all over with lights in the windows, which are reflected in the flowing stream.

Mr. Simeon Solomon has contributed three pictures to the Dudley Gallery, each of which is a study of a single figure. "Heliogabalus, High Priest of the Sun and Emperor of Rome," is represented in his sacerdotal character. He is splendidly dressed in a golden robe and a red mantle, and wears a magnificent gold head-dress. He holds a censer in his left hand, from which incense rises, and he is surrounded by various things on which Mr. Solomon has lavished his uncommon power of representation. No one has given more attention than Mr. Solomon to the study of metallic lustre, and he can paint a golden utensil or an embroidered robe better than any water-colourist now living. The human element in his pictures is perhaps somewhat secondary to costume and still life, yet there is nevertheless, in such studies as this "Heliogabalus," a profound philosophical intention. This is less obvious in the "Patriarch of the Eastern Church pronouncing the Benediction of Peace." Mr. Solomon's intense sense of the values of local colour has led him to select a model whose dark hair and complexion give the most powerful relief to the brilliancy of the gold and silk of the cope. Instead of the crozier carried by Latin prelates, the Patriarch bears a black pastoral staff terminating in two silver serpents, in allusion, we suppose, to that of Aaron. The utility of the staff and of the dark hair of the Patriarch in increasing the splendour of the yellows is very considerable. In the "Bacchus" Mr. Solomon has had no glory of gold to help him, but has relied mainly on the opposition between the rich brown flesh-colour of the god and the intensity of a dark blue sky which, like that in the "Lotus-eaters," is vaulted over a dark blue sea. This contrast is by no means new, having been familiar to the great Venetians, but when well managed it is always beautiful. This is one of those cases in which imitative truth is made to yield to artistic convenience. A natural sky and sea may be quite as blue as these, but they would have in their azure a brilliancy of light which art can never render except at the sacrifice of colour. It results, therefore, that when an artist gives the true colour, the public feel at once the absence of the natural light; and, not having any correct notion of the philosophy of the matter, attribute their dissatisfaction to the presence of colour rather than the absence of light, and say that the artist has "made his sky too blue." But we may go a step further than the plea of legitimate and necessary compromise. Art is not the slave of nature, but has an independent existence of its own; and if, for artistic reasons, an artist knowingly and purposely deviates from natural truth, he has a clear right to do so. There is, indeed, a kind of falsity which incurs well-merited contempt. When an artist is convinced that he is rendering nature truly, when he is proud of his imitative dexterity and of the accuracy of his observation, and yet gives us gross misrepresentations and perversions of the truths he professes to know, then we condemn all deviations from the fact as so many evidences of failure. But in such work as this Bacchus the artist is free to sacrifice light



that he may preserve the intensity of a hue, or even, if he pleases, to introduce hues which do not exist in nature, as Turner laid the scarlet shadow in the Phryne. This Bacchus is not joyously active, but dreamily indolent, walking near the groves by the sea with purple grapes in his hand and a leopard-skin cast over his shoulder. A spectator found fault with the picture on account of the god's quiet deportment, but surely Bacchus did not spend his days in the sameness of interminable revelry. May he not have sometimes wandered dreamily thus by the dark blue sea, gathering the sun-warmed grapes?

We have never seen a more curious instance of the possibility of conciliating the sentiment of early Italian art with the facts of nature than Mr. Walter Crane's landscape in the Dudley Gallery, with the quotation—

My soul is an enchanted boat,  
Which, like a sleeping swan, doth float  
Upon the silver waves of thy sweet singing,  
And thine doth like an angel sit  
Beside the helm conducting it,  
Whilst all the winds with melody are ringing.  
It seems to float ever, for ever,  
Upon that many-winding river,  
Between mountains, woods, abysses,  
A paradise of wilderness!

The quotation sufficiently describes the materials of which the picture is composed. We have low, blue, distant hills, many thin delicate trees, a river winding through green fields; by the river an angel in a boat, accompanied by three swans. The sentiment of the picture is in a high degree poetical, and ought to shield it from supercilious and disrespectful criticism; but there is some awkwardness in the angel, and an especial want of grace in the swans, which may be serious drawbacks to the reception of a work of this kind. It would have been well, perhaps, to omit the wings of the angel, because rationalist criticism is naturally tempted to ask why a being endowed with the faculty of flight and superior to the weariness of mortals should take to canoeing as a means of transport.

Decidedly the cleverest bit of imitative study in the Dudley Gallery is Mr. James Lobley's "Old Font." The light comes through a church doorway behind the font, and catches the door itself across its panels, which are pale grey from long exposure to the weather. An infinitesimal fragment of sky is visible between the arch and the font. The font itself is realized with very uncommon power; the imitation of texture is really wonderful; every reflection is interpreted with the most exact estimate of its relative value as light, and the various colour of the stone is studied with evident pleasure and complete success. The power of doing so clever a study as this implies but few of the endowments necessary to an accomplished artist, and may even prevent its possessor from giving thought to higher things; but if Mr. Lobley should find, by further experience, that he has not the nobler artistic gifts which belong to creative genius, he may still fall back upon his exquisite truth of imitation, and paint in the happy consciousness that he has not worked in vain.

## REVIEWS.

HOOK'S LIVES OF THE ARCHBISHOPS OF CANTERBURY.  
VOLS. VI. VII.\*

WITH the "Reformation Period" Dr. Hook, or his publisher, has thought good to begin a new series, with a new numbering of volumes; but, as an alternative title-page is given us, we prefer to stick to the old reckoning. We should not be surprised if many people begin to read Dr. Hook at this point; we, however, are better pleased to look on him as the old friend with whom we have travelled through five volumes and through more than nine hundred years. We would not, even by a typographical arrangement, give the least countenance to the error against which Dr. Hook has fought more manfully than most men, that the Church of England after the sixteenth century is something altogether distinct from the Church of England before the sixteenth century. We will therefore deal with the volumes before us simply as another instalment of a work on which we have had to speak our mind at various intervals for the last seven years.

Dr. Hook has now reached what to most readers will be the most interesting and the best known part of his story. To all readers it will be a part far more interesting and far better known than any that he has gone through for about three hundred years. Many of the Archbishops of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries are hardly known at all except to professed students of the history of their times. Very few of them were specially eminent as Archbishops. None of them stand out in ecclesiastical story like some of their predecessors. But Dr. Hook now brings us face to face with a man, very far indeed from being a man on the scale of Dunstan or Lanfranc or Thomas or Stephen Langton, but one whose circumstances made a chief actor in events quite as great as those in which they were concerned. Everybody knows the name of Cranmer; everybody has an opinion about him; everybody blesses or curses him according to his way of thinking. Dr. Hook will now be watched by much more eager eyes than when he was writing about Langham and Islip, about Bouchier and Morton. But he is well prepared to run the

gauntlet. In a note in one of these volumes he draws a very true distinction between what he calls writing *down* to one's subject and writing *up* to it. By writing down he means writing out of the fulness of one's knowledge on a subject which has been studied for its own sake. By writing up he means writing on a subject which has to be got up in order to write about it. In some parts of his book Dr. Hook would hardly deny that he has had to write up to his subject; but in these volumes he eminently writes down to it. He now clearly has his matter at his fingers' ends; he evidently gives us the result of the study and conviction of years, at the same time that he has not failed to take every advantage of the light which has lately been poured upon this period, almost more than upon any other. We may think as we please about what Dr. Hook says in these volumes, but he proves abundantly that he is dealing with a time about which he eminently has a right to speak. He is at home with Warham and Cranmer in a way in which he was not at home with Stigand and Lanfranc. In point both of matter and of style, Dr. Hook has been improving ever since he began, and in these volumes we have him at his best. He has been gradually coming nearer and nearer to the character of an historian; we may now say that he has reached it. He does, we think, thorough justice to all sides, and that without any sign of that kind of effort which we have had to remark in one or two earlier parts of his history. This is partly the result of Dr. Hook's own ecclesiastical position. The position of the man who is a strong High Churchman, but without the slightest savour of Popery, may be thought a narrow and perhaps an untenable position. But it is a position which enables a man to understand a great many things in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries which more extreme partisans in any direction always fail to understand. We fancy that to Dr. Hook the time when things purely ecclesiastical were most nearly as they ought to be would be the time when the First Prayer-Book of Edward the Sixth was put out. That was the moment when the Church of England acted most exclusively by her own insular wisdom—the moment when she had altogether ceased to bow to Rome, and had not yet begun to bow to Geneva or Zürich. There was perhaps no moment when Englishmen came nearer to united national action in ecclesiastical matters. Men who afterwards fell asunder in different directions were at that moment pulling, many of them cordially pulling, together. Men who afterwards returned to Popery, and men who afterwards developed into Puritanism, were at that moment acting hand in hand. It is possible that this very fact shows that the position was an untenable one, and that the men who held it found it to be so. It may be said that the Anglicans of that moment were a congregation of bats, who were afterwards driven by an irresistible logic to become, some beasts and some birds. But, if the position be untenable logically, it is most tenable practically. The bats came in again with Queen Elizabeth, and they have held their ground more or less firmly ever since. It may be a logical triumph, but it will be a great practical evil, if either the beasts or the birds are ever driven to declare themselves against their will.

We therefore think that Dr. Hook's peculiar position helps him in gaining insight into the time of which he writes. For with him this position is not a narrow position. Standing in the middle, he can do what people who stand in the middle cannot always do; he can understand those who go a little nearer to either extreme than he does himself. But though Dr. Hook's own position certainly helps him, it is by no means the only cause of his success. The main cause is that he has studied his present subject too long and too carefully to be run away with by fancies and novelties in any direction. And even if we looked on his former labours as simply introductory to these two volumes, it would be a great advantage to him to have gone through that preliminary course of study. There is a wide difference between an historian of the Reformation who begins his English ecclesiastical studies with the year 597 and one who begins them with the year 1527.

May we then call Dr. Hook an historian of the Reformation? It is a case of "almost but not altogether." The very excellence of these volumes, and the gradual process of improvement by which that excellence has been reached, only make us in one way feel their defects more keenly. Those defects belong almost wholly to the nature of Dr. Hook's plan. As we have gone through volume after volume with him, and have found each volume an improvement on the volume which went before it, we have more and more strongly felt at every step that history cannot be written in a series of lives. As these volumes are the best that Dr. Hook has written, it is in reading them that we feel this more strongly than ever. A series of lives is something more than biography, it is something less than history. We feel that what we have here is not merely a life of Warham and a life of Cranmer. The lives of Warham and Cranmer are simply parts of a greater whole. But the fact that the history is thrown into the shape of lives of Warham and Cranmer hinders it from having the completeness and continuous flow of a regular history. The book often comes so near to a regular history that we forget that it is not one. Then perhaps we are checked by Dr. Hook leaving out, sometimes distinctly telling us that he leaves out, something or other which we expect in the history, but which he thinks, perhaps rightly, claims no place in the biography. We believe that he would have succeeded better if he had given us either a history of the Reformation or a general history of the Church of England, without dividing it according to the lives of Archbishops. We believe that he would also have suc-

\* *Lives of the Archbishops of Canterbury.* By Walter Farquhar Hook, D.D., F.R.S. Vols. VI. VII. London: Richard Bentley. 1868.

ceeded better if he had written a Life of Cranmer in which the events of the Reformation should have been made to centre round the person of Cranmer, without any reference to past or future lives of other Primates. As it is, we get something which is not exactly either, something in which omission and repetition are unavoidable. Nor is the matter altogether mended by prefixing an Introductory Chapter, in which Dr. Hook discusses some matters which he thinks more appropriate to such a general chapter than to any particular Life. We can generally understand his reasons for putting one thing in a Life and another thing in the Introductory Chapter. He puts the Dissolution of Monasteries in the Introductory Chapter, because it was not the immediate work of Cranmer, but of Cromwell. But the changes in the services he puts in the Life of Cranmer, because in this Cranmer was largely and personally concerned. But, though we understand the reason, the flow of the history is broken all the same. Both when we are reading the Introductory Chapter, and also when we are reading the Life of Cranmer, we fancy that we are reading a general History of the Reformation, and in either case we feel a blank. And connected with the form of the work are one or two lesser matters which acquire increased importance just now. Every Archbishop has, by Dr. Hook's rule, a chapter to himself. To give him less would be disrespectful; to give him more would be making invidious distinctions between greater and lesser Primates. But, though every Archbishop may have a chapter to himself, it is impossible to give every Archbishop a chapter of exactly the same length. Thomas Cranmer must have his single chapter even as William Whittlesey, but there is nothing to hinder Thomas Cranmer's single chapter from spreading itself over the whole of one volume and part of another. Against the amount of space we say not a word; it is no more than the number of years and the greatness of the events crowded into them deserve. We should have welcomed a Life of Cranmer from Dr. Hook spreading itself over several volumes. But to us fastidious modern readers a whole volume without break or typographical help of any kind is somewhat of a grievance. And, at this stage of the narrative, we crave more than ever for some of those little typographical luxuries to which other historians have accustomed us. We miss the marginal analysis and the marginal date. No number of dates in the text can fully supply their place. At a time when the narrative is very full, when chronology is of great importance, when the difference of a month or a week is of moment, we look instinctively to the margin to see whether we are in December 1539, or in January 1540. But all that the margin tells us is, what we knew very well already, that the primacy of Thomas Cranmer lasted from 1533 to 1556. Dr. Hook will understand that it is only because we value his book highly, and therefore read it attentively, that such a deficiency as this strikes us. In a dull or a shallow book, of which we turned the pages over hastily, we should not trouble ourselves about the margin.

But, to turn to greater matters, the spirit in which Dr. Hook has gone through his difficult task is in every way admirable. Look at his picture of Henry the Eighth. It is no daub one way or the other, but a fair and discerning portrait. Dr. Hook knows the difference between right and wrong, and is not inclined to become an apologist of evil. He is too old a bird to be caught by the chaff of sensational paradoxes. He has got beyond that stage of infantine simplicity which could believe that any man ever cut off his wife's head one morning, and married her maid the next morning, out of no motive but pure love of his country. Dr. Hook puts the crimes of Henry in their strongest and truest light. We never read anything more awful than the Scriptural words—more awful from the point at which the quotation breaks off—with which he sends the despot out of the world—"The rich man died and was buried." But Dr. Hook is not only fair to Henry; he thoroughly delights in bringing out whatever there was of better stuff in him. He thoroughly sympathizes with Henry, the true-born and true-hearted Englishman—English, as he delights to tell us, for many generations on either side—the King who asserted the ancient rights of England against the pretensions of Rome, and who raised England again to that place among the nations which she again lost when he was gone. He does thorough justice to Henry's transcendent ability whenever he chose really to apply himself to affairs. Henry had able men about him through the whole of his reign, but, after the great Cardinal was gone, all of them seem small by the side of their master. Dr. Hook brings out also very clearly that there was in Henry, showing itself ever and anon in a fitful way, a real sense of his kingly duties, a real anxiety for the welfare of his people. Henry was a tyrant, but he was not a small tyrant; he could put up with many things which better Kings than he cannot always put up with. He would endure no opposition when his will was finally fixed, but, up to that point, he distinctly encouraged freedom of speech. The best and the worst parts of him come out by fits and starts. Ever and anon he commits a legal murder; ever and anon he plans a judicious reform or a splendid foundation. But his normal state was rather to let things pass and enjoy himself, stepping in now and then with terrible effect, sometimes when a real national need, sometimes when only his own caprice, called for his personal intervention. Dr. Hook brings out forcibly his strange addiction to the vice of gambling. It was at the gaming-table that the spoils of the monasteries were squandered away. It was love of play more than anything else which brought his splendid schemes for the foundations of Bishoprics and Colleges to so lame and meagre a result. It is a strange contrast

when we see the same man putting a peal of church-bells on a throw of the dice, and then sitting down to draw up the new statutes of Canterbury Cathedral with as much care, and we need not doubt with as honest a purpose, as any reforming Bishop from Dunstan onwards. In a man naturally capable of the greatest things, a man who had by no means ceased to set high and worthy purposes before him, but who was thoroughly spoiled by power, who had forgotten how to put any constraint not only on his deliberate will, but on his momentary caprice, such contrasts are intelligible. The way in which he contrived to do his worst acts under some kind of legal form is a point in his tyranny of which we have often spoken. It in no way palliates, it rather heightens, the blackness of his crimes that the forms of law and right were thus perverted on his behalf. But it is alone enough to distinguish him from tyrants of a more vulgar kind, and to make his character a subject worthy of careful study. Dr. Hook's personal portrait of Henry is one of the most successful things in his book.

But, with regard to one very important part of Henry's conduct, we are not so well satisfied with Dr. Hook's treatment. His picture of the destruction of the monasteries is rather coloured by his odd notion of their being, what he called them in an earlier volume, "Dissenting Institutions." This means that they were commonly exempt from episcopal jurisdiction. But, on this showing, Westminster Abbey and the College Chapels of Oxford and Cambridge are Dissenting institutions. Dr. Hook draws a distinction between "Church property" and "monastic property" which we do not take in. Most certainly the man who gave to a regular foundation, and the man who gave to a secular foundation, each alike believed that he was giving to God and the Church. Nor does Dr. Hook's parallel with the Academical Colleges exactly hold. The Academical Colleges are, in the eye of the law, lay corporations; the monasteries were not. Again, in taking this view of monastic property, Dr. Hook fails to bring out the greatest evil both of the monasteries and the suppression of monasteries. A great part of the monastic property consisted of Church property in the strictest sense—of the property of parish churches, most wrongfully alienated to the support of those religious houses which, by a legal fiction, were looked upon as their Rectors. It was the greatest evil of the Dissolution that no advantage was taken of the opportunity which then offered itself for repairing this crying abuse. The monastic tithes never went back to the parishes from which they came; they were gambled away by the King and his courtiers; Bishops had to take them in inadequate exchange for episcopal manors; in the best case they were granted to the new cathedral and academical foundations, keeping up the old abuse under another form. Cranmer himself, there is too much reason to believe, did not scruple to barter away archiepiscopal lands and houses in exchange for inappropriate tithes granted, not to his see, but to himself and his heirs. Dr. Hook's distinction, untenable as we think it, between monastic property and Church property, has hindered him from being as emphatic on this very important point as he might have been. But he does good service by his picture of the state of the monasteries, for good and for evil, at the time of the Dissolution, and he shows how little reliance is to be placed on the reports of the Royal Visitors. He gives us again the old dilemma which cannot be too often put. Take two instances out of many. The Prior and Convent of Saint Andrew's at Northampton surrendered very readily, confessing their offences. The Prior, for his readiness, was at once made Dean of the new Cathedral at Peterborough. The Convent of Christ Church at Canterbury was charged with all sorts of crimes, but in the reconstitution of the Cathedral, nearly all the prebendaries and other officers were chosen out of those very monks who were so frightfully wicked. Were then the charges against the monks to a great extent lies, or did Henry and Cranmer promote disreputable persons to important posts in the new state of things?

Another point, later in his story, which Dr. Hook has, as it strikes us, rather slurred over, is the theological change during the later years of Edward the Sixth, of which the second Prayer-Book was the expression. He does not pass it by, but he hardly dwells on it so fully as we should have expected. Most likely young Edward himself, the despotic boy on whom Dr. Hook has very little mercy, had a good deal to do with the change. The words of the Act of Parliament which introduced it are most remarkable; they are something like a confession that the change made was not for the better. As a matter of theological controversy, it is doubtless a good answer, that we are bound now, not by either book of Edward, but by the book of Charles the Second. But, looking at the matter historically, the First Book is distinctively the Book of the Church of England left to herself, the Second Book is a change in a Puritan direction. Had not this change a good deal to do with the ease with which Thirlby, and others who had gone a long way with the Reformation, went back in Mary's time to the mass, and even to the Pope? At the first, the purely Anglican, stage of the Reformation they were satisfied, but, when it became a choice between Rome and Geneva, they preferred Rome. Dr. Hook is very fond of telling us, with much truth, but with a little exaggeration, that the Prayer-Book is only a revision of the Use of Sarum. Surely, though this may be said of the First Book, it can hardly be said of the Second.

Our remarks on Dr. Hook's treatment of the Lives of the two Primates with which he has dealt in these volumes, William Warham and Thomas Cranmer, we keep for another article.



## PROFESSOR NILSSON ON THE STONE AGE.\*

THE latest-born of the sciences, prehistoric archaeology bids fair to astonish the world by the hardihood and rapidity of its growth. There is much, indeed, in the atmosphere of thought in this country to render its development amongst us less a matter of probability than amongst a people less conservative of traditional notions, and less suspicious of new ideas. From its very starting-point this science seemed to run counter to what had been held as primary, fixed, and almost axiomatic limits of the age of man's being; and unknown risks appeared to be involved in entering upon a field of research wholly beyond the received pale of safe inquiry. It can, then, by no means surprise us to find that in the first steps into this novel and undefined region other countries than our own should have taken the initiative, and that the boldest and furthest advances should even now remain those of foreign scholars and men of science. A few active and independent minds amongst ourselves have, it is true, done much to naturalize and strengthen this novel offshoot of ethnography and archaeology, and have contributed a very satisfactory quota of their own to the sum of original facts. But it has been all that they could do to make up for the start which had originally been taken by the inquirers of other parts of Europe, especially of the North. The Saxon admixture in our veins may be destined to keep us at all times the "unready" amongst nations. Else it might be thought a paradox, relating as it does to a theme of essentially domestic interest, that what will probably pass among us for an advanced and novel treatise should have been in substance freely circulating for a whole generation amongst a people of kindred extraction and language. Yet such is the fact which stares us in the face on taking up the volume with which Sir John Lubbock has just presented us; for thirty years have elapsed since the publication of Professor Nilsson's original monograph upon the primitive inhabitants of Scandinavia. It is chiefly to the labours of this eminent archaeologist, coupled with those of M. Thomsen, director of the Ethnological and Archaeological Museum at Copenhagen, that we owe the remarkable advance which has been made in the interval in our knowledge of the early races of mankind, and in particular the division of European history into the three eras marked by the use of stone, of bronze, and of iron. The present translation has been made, under the immediate superintendence of the author, from the third edition of Professor Nilsson's work. It constitutes, in fact, a new edition in itself, differing as it does considerably, not only from the original treatise, but also from the latest form in which it was reissued at the beginning of last year. The editor's share in the present publication appears to have been limited to a general supervision, in addition to which he has prefixed a short, but clear and graphic, summary of the leading facts and existing position of the branch of science of which it treats. This introduction is in substance identical with the address delivered by Sir John Lubbock before the Archaeological Institute, at their London meeting in July, 1866.

In the wealth and variety of their collections of stone implements of prehistoric date, the Northern Museums eclipse beyond comparison those of our own country. The Museum of Copenhagen, for instance, contains upwards of 10,000 axes and other weapons of polished stone, and that of Stockholm not fewer than 15,000. Numerous, however, as are these remains of early human workmanship in the two Scandinavian peninsulas, implements of the earliest form, such as are found in abundance in the river-drift gravels of France and England, are nowhere met with either in Denmark or Sweden. Conversely, too, the finely polished and grooved axes, chisels, gouges, and other implements of the Northern countries are very distinct from the ruder productions of the drift-beds. This mark of difference, originally due to the observation of Mr. John Evans, has led to the necessity of modifying the ternary division of the Northern archaeologists by the introduction of a fourth category, or, rather, by a subdivision of the primary or "stone age" of prehistoric time. To this new division Sir John Lubbock has assigned the title of the "paleolithic," in contradistinction to the later or "neolithic" period, to which belong the types of work peculiar to Scandinavian art. From this essential difference in their productions, it seems perfectly fair to draw the inference of Sir J. Lubbock, that those Northern countries were not inhabited by men during the earlier period. It has been calculated that, without counting flakes, somewhere about 3,000 flint implements of the paleolithic age have been discovered in Northern France and Southern England. These are all of types differing considerably from those which came subsequently into use. They are none of them polished, from which fact we may fairly infer that the art of polishing was as yet unknown. Not that we are to assume, at the same time, that the rudest flint implements are necessarily the oldest. The paleolithic implements, Sir John rightly remarks, show admirable workmanship. By the aid of such weapons the rude men of the cave period were able to face the formidable varieties of animal life which beset their age. In the severer climate of that primeval epoch, the musk ox, the woolly-haired rhinoceros, the mammoth, the lemming, and similar Arctic species, with the reindeer, extended far into the South of France. In their habits, as well as in their ingenuity and

their talent for art, the men of that period would seem to have resembled closely the Esquimaux of to-day. It is doubtless to a hand contemporary with the animal that we are to assign the spirited drawing of a mastodon, engraved upon a fragment of the tusk of that creature, which was found by M. Lartet in the rock shelter at La Madelaine in the Dordogne. Figures of other animals have been found on fragments of stone, as well as of horn and bone. On the whole, however, it appears probable that these vestiges of early art belong to an epoch somewhat less ancient than the implements of the St. Acheul gravels or the Gibraltar caves. From the preponderance of the remains of one animal, this has been called the reindeer period. It would in some respects appear intermediate between the paleolithic and the neolithic periods. These epochs, be it, however, kept in mind, are not to be marked off from each other by sharp lines of demarcation. The one, on the contrary, frequently overlaps the other. Weapons of the stone period, for instance, are met with, and were no doubt retained in use, during the period when bronze was employed, just as in more modern times the use of the bow was not at once superseded by the introduction of firearms. It is as a whole, and in its prevailing characteristics, that one epoch stands apart from those which precede and follow it in the march of civilization. And it is as strongly marking out and illustrating the later stone age that the series of discoveries embodied in M. Nilsson's work speak in accents full of significance and interest.

Out of the immense accumulation of weapons or implements of the neolithic age, of which upwards of two hundred are engraved in M. Nilsson's work, but few are considered by him to have been designed for purposes of war. The spears, harpoons, and hooks of bone or flint seem to have been exclusively intended for fishing or the chase. The hammers, and other articles less easily identified, appear fitted to the domestic use of a people of an unwarlike kind, such as the Esquimaux. It may be thought curious that nothing has come to light showing the kind of stone instrument actually made use of in furnishing these various implements. The process, however, may be readily inferred from what has been observed among various savage tribes in our day by Admirals Belcher and Fitzroy, and other navigators, as well as from what M. Nilsson tells us of his own experiments in imitating the efforts of these early workers. Whatever may have been the tools wielded by the cunning hands of modern forgers, it is clear that no appliances of metal were needed to shape and polish the material of these exquisitely wrought objects. It was simply by means of a bit of granite, quartz, or other hard stone, or of one of the stone hammers figured before us, deftly plied, that the axe, spear-head, or flint-knife was chipped into shape and wrought to a sharp edge. Some of these hammer stones show grooves or finger-holes for convenience in holding; others are pierced, as if for suspension by a string or thong, or for being fixed to a handle. Other implements may reasonably be referred to the class of whetstones, used for grinding and polishing stone or bone. Most of these are oblong in shape, polygonal, thin in the middle and thicker at the ends. Some are as much as fifteen or sixteen inches in length, others only four or five inches. Such stones are still in use, so M. Thomsen reports, among the women of Greenland, for grinding their needles of bone. Certain articles of this kind have been absurdly set down by some as touchstones for assaying metals, whereas they are repeatedly found in graves far older than the use of metals in the North. Javelin points of various make abound, both of bone and flint. In some cases, as in those now in use in the Kurile Islands, thin sharp flakes of flint are inserted in a groove deeply indented along both sides of a haft or handle of bone, and fastened by means of a strong black putty resembling pitch. A resin of the same kind forms the chief ingredient in the curious lumps called "pigmy bread" or "incense loaves," which are found in the earth or in bogs, and which Hühnefeld quite seriously considered to be petrified Scanian bread. Of these javelins some were thrown by the bare hand, others by means of the throwing stick. Both wooden slings and ribbon slings were employed for hurling stones, as by the Greeks, or as we see pictured in Lepsius's great work upon the monuments of Egypt. Articles of mere ornament are met with of amber or rude glass, beads of which have been found surrounding the necks of skeletons in gallery graves. Vessels of burnt clay, several of which are engraved by M. Nilsson, were placed, together with stone weapons and ornaments, in the most ancient graves; not to hold the ashes of the dead—for bodies were not then burnt—but probably with the notion of supplying the wants of the departed.

Professor Nilsson's remarks on the comparison between the ancient crania found in Scandinavia and those of modern times do not add much, either by way of materials or of inferences, to the researches and admeasurements of Professors Anders and Gustaf Retzius, father and son, of Stockholm—not to speak of works of a wider and more general kind on the subject of ethnology and craniometry. His descriptions and conjectural restorations of ancient huts, burial houses, and monuments will have much interest for the general reader. A great deal of curious matter has here been brought together from the latest reports of antiquaries and explorers; conspicuous amongst which are the results of recent explorations of the gallery tombs at Lutra in West Gothland, by Professor Hildebrand and Baron von Düben. Perhaps the most striking part of the volume, as well as that most characteristic of the author's ideas on the subject, is that in which he works out from native Sagas, as well as from comparative mythology at large, his theory of the origin of dwarfs, giants, goblins, and elves, as

\* *The Primitive Inhabitants of Scandinavia.* By Sven Nilsson. Third Edition. Edited, with an Introduction, by Sir John Lubbock, Bart., F.R.S., &c. London: Longmans & Co. 1868.

beings in popular belief. His proofs are directed to show that these were not mythical or allegorical creations, meant to typify certain powers or properties of nature—the wind, the snow wreath, the miasma, or the *ignis fatuus*. They were, he holds, “real beings, of the same race as the Laplanders of the present day,” and considered by the more simple and puny denizens of the coast, on whom they preyed, to be possessors of supernatural powers, sorcerers and warlocks. Such were the accounts given by the simple Esquimaux of their English visitors, or by the Indians and Mexicans of the fierce bands of Cortes and Pizarro. In the Saga of Olof Trygvadson the fair Gunhild is staying with a couple of Finns (Laplanders), in order to learn sorcery. They could kill with a glance any living thing, and the earth recoiled from their angry looks. They missed nothing that they aimed at, they could follow the trail like dogs, and run in snow-shoes so fast that neither man nor beast could overtake them. When, in any Saga, dwarfs and *jotnar* (giants) are mentioned in contradistinction to men, it proves only that the Saga applies to men of a different race:—

In Thorstein Bejarmagn's Saga we are told that Thorstein came once with his ship to Jemtland, where he went ashore. On an open plain he saw a large stone, and beside it a dreadful savage-looking dwarf wailing aloud. It appeared to Thorstein as if the dwarf's mouth was open from ear to ear. “Wherefore dost thou weep?” inquired Thorstein. “Dost thou not see,” answered the dwarf, “the large eagle flying yonder? He has carried off my son, and I believe that the brute has been sent by Odin. I shall die if I lose my child.” The dwarf, therefore, was no Odin worshipper, which indeed the Laplanders never were. Thorstein shot the eagle, and brought the dwarf-child unscathed to the father, who, in his joy, made Thorstein a present of some magical implements, which afterwards became very useful to him.

Amulets of stone, such as are still worn by the peasantry of Scandinavia, Scotland, and Ireland, were in use among the Gothic warriors of those early times. A capital story is told in Didrik of Bern's Saga, chapter xxv., of King Nidung having discovered, on leading his slender forces against a vast hostile host, that he had left at home his “victory stone,” an heirloom of priceless virtue. The King upon this promises the hand of his daughter, together with a third of his kingdom, to him who shall bring him this valuable stone in time for the battle. Valant the armoured rides back to fetch the stone, and the battle, with its promised guerdon, is won. Sigurd's daughter, Gunhild, steals his victory stone while the old man is in a drunken sleep, and thereby gives the victory to her lover, Ditlew of Tumatorp, now Tomerup, in Scania. Many quaint particulars will be found in these pages connected with Odin worship and the superstitions that still linger round Thursday (Thor's day). Some short but highly suggestive remarks upon the physical condition of early Scandinavia, and the probable influence of geographical and geological changes upon its later inhabitants and their history, form the conclusion of Professor Nilsson's learned and interesting book.

#### PAPAL CONCLAVES.\*

MR. CARTWRIGHT'S modest and unpretending volume has, in more ways than one, an exceptional value. After the copious floods of literature, periodical and other, bearing on the Roman question which have poured from the press during the last ten years, it might be supposed that little now remained to be said on the subject. But, in fact, very little has been said on the facts of the case that can be relied upon as trustworthy. Few Protestants, and still fewer Catholics, have approached it except in the spirit of advocates, and advocates who hold a brief. There is not much to choose in this respect between M. About and Archbishop Manning; and, as a rule, the more moderate and sensible on either side have been too indifferent or too timid to speak at all. We hail, therefore, with peculiar satisfaction a book from the pen of Mr. Cartwright—suggested immediately by the persecution of Cardinal Andrea and the *Non possumus* plea of Rome—on Papal Conclaves. Mr. Cartwright is favourably known as the reputed author of some remarkably able and impartial papers on Italian ecclesiastical questions, which have appeared from time to time in the *Edinburgh Review*; and his long residence in Rome, while it has given him a special interest in what has passed there of late years, has also supplied him with means of information not ordinarily accessible to English writers. He is a Protestant, but not a partisan, and his volume is a faithful fulfilment of the intention announced in the preface, to write a summary for the historical student, “wherein he will find constitutional facts stated without passion, or desire to subvert party views.” We can detect no trace of any other enthusiasm than a genuine and most praiseworthy enthusiasm to tell the exact truth; in fact it would be difficult to gather, from his pages, whether the author was or was not a Roman Catholic. And when we remember how much both of the religious and the political future of Europe may hinge on the results of the next Papal Conclave, no one can think the subject of this monograph one of merely historical or antiquarian interest. History, as the author justly observes, presents no stranger contrast than between the mean causes that have often decided a Papal election, and the momentous issues that have flowed from it. An accurate account of the conditions and circumstances under which the electing Conclave meets, with all the light thrown on it by the treasures of the great Italian archives now first thrown open to the student, must claim the attention of the politician no less than of the historian or the

divine. Such an account Mr. Cartwright has here provided in a clear and compendious form, interspersed with various anecdotes illustrative of former Papal elections, or of occurrences during the vacancy of the See. There might perhaps have been now and then more care in the methodical arrangement of materials; we are sometimes hurried backwards and forwards from one period to another in a way that is a little confusing. But nothing is included which does not bear on the point under review, and there seems to be no information omitted that is requisite for its full elucidation.

It will probably be most convenient to our readers if we offer, by the aid of Mr. Cartwright's volume, a brief sketch of the origin and nature of the machinery for electing Popes; for a fuller account they must be referred to his own pages. The statement will dispose incidentally of a number of popular misconceptions on the subject, prevalent even among the great body of Roman Catholics, still more of course among Protestants. It was not till 1059 that a Bull was issued by Nicolas II. confining the elective franchise to the College of Cardinals, leaving to the clergy and people of Rome, who had previously shared the right with them, only the barren office of signifying their acquiescence in an election already made. They received, however, as a sop, the concession that the Pope should be chosen, *ceteris paribus*, out of the bosom of the Roman Church. The rights of the Emperor were also reserved by an express clause. The next important regulation affecting Papal Conclaves followed a century later, when a decree was promulgated under Alexander III., at the Third Lateran Council, making a majority of at least two-thirds of the voters necessary to a valid election. Another century elapsed before the forms of election were fixed by a Constitution of the Second Council of Lyons, in 1274, under Gregory X. His election at Viterbo, the first made by “compromise”—of which more presently—was preceded by a stormy interregnum of nearly three years. The Council of Lyons directed that after ten days from the decease of a Pope, to allow time for the arrival of absentees, the Cardinals should enter into Conclave in the palace, whichever it might be, where he died; and that they, with their various attendants, whose number was minutely described, should be immured during the process of election. Other regulations were added as to the food to be allowed them, which have always remained a dead letter; and the enforcement of all these provisions was entrusted to the civil authorities of the place where the Conclave met. These three decrees form to this day the rule for Papal elections. Once only have they been superseded, in a special emergency, when the Council of Constance compelled the abdication of two rival Popes, and itself appointed an electoral College, composed of the Cardinals and thirty divines of its own members, who raised Martin V. to the tiara. The later Bulls on this subject contained in the Roman *Bullarium* either simply confirm the three already mentioned, or deal with mere details of subordinate importance. We may perhaps except the Bull of Gregory XV., issued in 1621, which gives elaborate directions, still in force, for the ceremonial to be observed at Conclaves. As the vaguest notions are current as to the nature and distinction of different kinds of Papal documents, the following note of Mr. Cartwright's, which is, like all his statements on such matters, at once lucid and precise, may not be without its interest:—

The Bull is the most authoritative expression of the Pontifical infallibility, as such almost incapable of repeal; while the Brief is directed to something of comparatively immediate and passing importance. The name of the former comes from its leaden seal, which is tied by a hempen cord to Bulls of ordinary import, and by a silken to those conferring Sees, and containing matters of grave weight. The style of the Bull runs always—“Pius IX., Episcopus, Servus Servorum Dei, ad futuram” or “perpetuam rei memoriam,” with date from the Incarnation, and signature of the various functionaries of the Apostolical Chancery, the document being written in Latin in mediæval letters upon dark rough parchment. A Brief, which is likewise in Latin, has but the Pope's name at the beginning—“Pius Papa IX.”—is signed by the Cardinal Secretary of Briefs, bears date from the Nativity, and is written in modern letters upon soft white parchment. The die of the leaden seal affixed to Bulls was kept at the Vatican until Pius VII. solemnly deposited it at the Cancelleria, with pain of excommunication against whoever enters without express permission the room in which it is. At one period the Cistercian Friars had the privilege of furnishing the keepers of this seal. There is yet a third form of Papal expression in writing, called a Chirograph, the exact nature of which it is difficult to define. It appears indeed to have no binding force except what it may derive from personal respect for its author, and resembles in authority somewhat the minutes which at times are drawn up in our offices, or the peculiar expression of Royal wishes formerly in use in Prussia, and termed Cabinets-ordre.

The principal personage during an interregnum is the Cardinal Camerlengo, but his functions have long ceased to be more than purely formal. The temporary powers of the Cardinals are indeed confined within the narrowest limits by a series of rigid and jealous prescriptions, framed by successive Popes. All public business, civil or ecclesiastical, that can possibly be postponed, is at a standstill while the throne is vacant, and till comparatively recent times the Popeless city was a scene of wild and hideous disorder. Even now it is the custom for the Senator of Rome, on the death of a Pope, to open the two chief gaols, and to let out those imprisoned for light offences; formerly all prisoners were set at liberty, with what results may be readily imagined. So late as 1621, in the interval before the election of Urban VIII., “not a day passed without many brawls, murders, and way-layings,” women were violated and murdered, and in short Rome—of all capitals in Europe the most unsafe to walk about in the dark at all times—became a perfect pandemonium. It is curious to find gambling on the chances of rival candidates for the tiara

\* On the Constitution of Papal Conclaves. By W. C. Cartwright. Edinburgh: Edmonston & Douglas. 1868.



expressly forbidden by a Bull of Pius IV. It is still more so to be told that the Cardinals themselves to this day indulge their passion for gambling on their chances, during a Conclave, by means of the lottery! Down to 1655 the "cell" of the newly-elected Pope was always sacked by the "Conclavists," or attendants on the electing Cardinals. A sum of 15,000 scudi (about 3,000*l.*) is now distributed among them instead, and the new Pope's own Conclavist, if a monk, has the odd privilege of bequeathing his property away from his Order.

Before proceeding to describe the process of election, it may be well to say a few words on a question often raised of late years as to the power of the Pope to suspend the prescribed forms in the election of his successor, and especially to dispense with the nine days' interval required by the Bull of Gregory X. What gives practical importance to the inquiry is, that some such design has been often ascribed, and in circles worthy of credit, to Pius IX. It is abundantly clear, from several precedents, that he has the power. Both Adrian V. and Gregory XI. repealed all existing regulations on the subject, and Adrian's repeal remained in force through six elections. Pius VI. issued a Bull, in view of the gravity of the crisis, empowering those Cardinals who were present to proceed to an election immediately after his death, or as soon as they might deem expedient, without waiting for the arrival of their colleagues, and even the obligation of immuring themselves during the election was relaxed. Gregory XVI. left behind him a similar document, which however was never promulgated. It is equally clear that the Pope is not precluded by any binding oaths from alienating the patrimony of the Holy See if he should judge it for the interest of the Church to do so. In the first place, Popes take no oaths which are not purely voluntary, and from which they are not universally held to be able to absolve themselves, as in fact they have often done. In the next place, the Bull of Alexander VII., which is usually referred to in defence of the *Non possumus* plea, was very materially modified by Gregory XV. after he had taken the oaths, and was re-enacted *de novo* by his successors, which would alone prove that it is not supposed to contain, like dogmatic decrees, "an eternal principle." As Mr. Cartwright justly observes, "a dogma is not reaffirmed by successive Popes, but takes care of itself, when once promulgated, for all time." But further, it is quite evident, from the language of the Bull itself, that it is directed against the monstrous abuses of nepotism, and has no bearing on the temporal sovereignty. While, however, in this case Pius IX. has been forward to disclaim a power which he certainly possesses, he has not scrupled to threaten the exercise of another power which he as certainly does not possess. The menace of depriving Cardinal Andrea of "the voice active and passive"—that is, the right of electing or being elected Pope—was made in the teeth of all law and all precedent. It has been distinctly ruled, by a Bull of Clement V. in 1312, that no censure, not even excommunication, involves forfeiture of this inalienable prerogative, and in no single instance has this provision been set at naught. Leo X. indeed passed a sentence of exclusion, like that threatened by Pius IX., against two Cardinals, but had to cancel it. Adrian IV. on the deathbed made a similar injunction, but it was disregarded. Clement XII. issued a "chirograph" to the same effect against Cardinal Coscia, who was convicted of most scandalous conduct, but afterwards revoked it as illegal, and Coscia was let out of prison to vote at the Conclave. The present Pope has also, it would seem, earned the unenviable distinction of supplying the first instance of breaking faith with a Cardinal reserved *in pectore*, and officially apprised of his intended elevation. This was done, through the intrigues of the Jesuits, in the case of Rosmini, by far the most distinguished man the Italian Church has produced during the present century.

We have seen that the Conclave for electing his successor is ordered to be held in the palace where the Pope dies. Since Pius VII. expired in the Quirinal the Conclaves have, however, always been held there, and the Vatican, most often formerly used for the purpose, has been deserted:—

In the locality now used there occurs no longer any need for the erection of wooden booths. The portion of the Quirinal Palace devoted to the accommodation of a Conclave is that which runs from Monte Cavallo to Quattro Fontane. Here there is probably the longest corridor in the world, upon which opens at equal intervals a range of doors—exactly like those of monks' cells in a convent corridor—that lead into apartments comprising each three or four rooms. These form the habitations of the Cardinals during Conclave, who draw lots for them as they did for the booths. On all points of form and ceremonial, however obsolete for practical purposes, there is observed a minute imitation of what was the rule in the Vatican. As formerly the Borgo, so now the street running towards Porta Pia, is closed by chains, while at the top of the great staircase are met the same turning-boxes that figured at the head of the Scala Reggia. At these wheels Cardinals are now allowed the privilege to hold conversation with visitors, though subject to being overheard by attendant guardians, as also to receive letters under the restriction of their being first perused by these. It is superfluous to add that in spite of the severe penalties launched with the full weight of Pontifical anathema against every violation of the command that an inmate of Conclave should hold no intercourse with the world, and the non-repeal of these Papal enactments, the correspondence between the Cardinals within and their political friends without has yet at all times been general. As a rule, the secret of sitting Conclaves has not been denser to penetrate for those having an interest to do so than the secret of pending conferences generally are for parties engaged in working and counter-working political plots.

Here, then, in the evening of the tenth day, the Cardinals are immured, for up to that hour all persons of rank in Rome, and the foreign ambassadors, come to visit them in their "cells." They first go through the form of proving their right to the

suffrage, and it is noteworthy that the only indispensable qualification for the purple is celibacy. Laymen may be, and have been, Cardinals. Sixtus V. made his nephew a Cardinal when a boy of fourteen, and as late as 1735 Don Luis of Bourbon was named Cardinal Archbishop of Toledo at eight years old. The Sacred College is confined to seventy members—six Cardinal Bishops, fifty Cardinal Priests, and fourteen Cardinal Deacons, not that these titles imply anything about their actual orders. The late Cardinal Wiseman, though an Archbishop, was a Cardinal Priest. But by a Bull of Pius IV. lay Cardinals cannot exercise the franchise without a Papal dispensation, which is not usually granted. The Pauline chapel serves the Cardinals both for saying mass and for voting in. The balloting takes place at a large table in front of the altar, where the chalice is placed as a ballot box; there is a fireplace behind, where the voting-papers are burned after an inconclusive ballot, and the smoke issuing through the chimney is a signal to the crowd outside that as yet there is no Pope. An election may take place in three ways—by inspiration, compromise, or balloting. The first method, which the author dismisses as "an ideal conception," though several cases are alleged by ecclesiastical writers, is where all the electors agree unanimously on the same nominee, without any previous conference. Election by compromise, when the Cardinals delegate their powers to a small Committee of their own body, has several times been resorted to. But the ordinary method is election by ballot, which is regulated by a very elaborate code. It involves a double process daily. Each Cardinal drops into the chalice a paper with his own name written on one end and a Scriptural motto (which he cannot change during the Conclave) at the other, both ends being sealed down and the candidate's name written in the middle. No one can vote for himself. Should this first voting give a majority of two-thirds for any candidate, he is elected. If not, as is the usual case, there is a second balloting in the afternoon, when those who adhere to their morning's vote write *Nemini* on their papers; those who acquiesce in any of the other nominees (no new name being ever introduced at this second voting) write *Accedo domino Cardinali*, adding the name. This double process takes place daily, or even twice a day, till an election has been made. But all sorts of manoeuvres and underhand tricks are resorted to, one of the commonest being to put forward sham candidates in order to elicit and dispose of the veto of the Catholic Powers, which can only be given once. The right of veto is formally recognised in the Courts of France, Austria, and Spain, and is claimed by Portugal, but the claim is not allowed. It cannot be exercised after a canonical majority has been obtained, for nothing can unmake a Pope once created. It was only from their envoy arriving twelve hours too late that the present Pope was not vetoed by the Court of Vienna. He is thought to have owed his election to the influence of Cardinal Acton. Any baptized Catholic is eligible to the Papacy; and though since 1378 no one below the rank of Cardinal has been elected, several votes were tendered and registered for a Capuchin monk, not a Cardinal, as late as 1758. John XIX. and Adrian V. were laymen, and the latter died without taking any orders. The temporal sovereignty has practically involved, for the last four centuries, the further restriction of the Pope being always an Italian, but there is no rule to this effect. The moment a Pope is elected, he receives the "first adoration" of the Cardinals in the chapel, and is proclaimed by the Cardinal Dean from the re-opened balcony window. His "second and third adorations," seated on the High Altar of St. Peter's, follow; and his coronation with the triple tiara at St. Peter's is generally on the next Sunday, when he takes possession of the Lateran Basilica, the metropolitan Church *urbis et orbis*. But it is the election alone, and not any of the subsequent ceremonies, that makes him Pope. The words used at the coronation are startling enough:—

*Accipe tiaram tribus coronis ornatam et scias te esse patrem principum et regum, rectorem orbis, in terrâ vicarium Salvatoris nostri Jesu Christi, cui est honor et gloria in sæcula sæculorum.*

In his concluding chapter Mr. Cartwright gives some interesting details of the election of Pius IX. It is certainly curious that a body of Cardinals mainly appointed by so retrograde a Conservative as Gregory XVI., with such a Minister as Lambruschini, should have raised a supposed Liberal to the throne. Mr. Cartwright concludes by observing that, with all its rigid formalism, the machinery for Papal elections is one of the most elastic in existence. Some almost incredible illustrations of the elasticity of Papal dispensations for bigamy and incestuous marriages are quoted in the text and first Appendix. Indeed, it is difficult to believe them genuine even with the text before our eyes. We trust Mr. Cartwright may be encouraged by the deserved success of this work to give us some further results of his intimate and unique acquaintance with a class of subjects little understood generally, though invested of late years with a fresh interest, and which he has made his peculiar study.

MISS SUZANNE.\*

**A**MONG the French writers who are bravely struggling against the follies and the vices of the Second Empire M. Ernest Legouvé justly occupies an honourable place. He is an author who works not only with a will, but with a conscience also. He

\* *Miss Suzanne*. Comédie en Quatre Actes, en Prose. Par Ernest Legouvé, de l'Académie Française. Paris: Michel Lévy. 1868.

is an artist who looks for something more than the mere applause of the crowd, who has a purpose within him, and strives to carry it out. Whatever else may be thought of his productions, they at least bear the stamp of sincerity, and whether his theories be practicable or not, it is evident that they are conceived in good faith. And such writers as he are producing no slight effect at the present time. Their numbers may not be very great, but their words are listened to with marked respect, and are likely to produce good fruit.

The course of lectures, for instance, which M. Legouv   delivered last year at the Coll  ge de France, on "Les P  res et les Enfants au XIX   Si  cle," was attended by a crowded audience, drawn for the most part from a class by no means wanting in influence. And the comedy of *Miss Suzanne*, which was acted for the first time on the 3rd of last December, if it has not met with universal applause, has at least been made the subject of much lively discussion, and has perhaps contributed its share towards bringing about the healthy tone which characterizes the expression of public opinion in Paris on the engrossing subject of the education of girls. The principal charge that has been brought against it is that it bears a somewhat obvious likeness to *Les Id  es de Madame Aubrey*, and the force of the allegation must be admitted; but it differs from it in tone as much as sunlight differs from gas-light, or a fresh mountain breeze from the heavy air of a hothouse. As a specimen of a class of dramas which the French stage does not generally affect, it deserves to be introduced to the English reader.

The heroine of the piece, Suzanne Villeneuve, is the daughter of an artist who is as proud and independent as he is poor. Her friends call her Miss Suzanne, on account of her having been educated in America, where she has acquired a freedom of manner and of speech which sometimes astonishes her acquaintances. "She has," says one of them, "what is rarely found in France, especially among young girls; she has a character of her own." She has received in America a solid education, which now enables her to make a livelihood by giving lessons, and she is always natural, always cheerful, always *na  ve*, making as light of the difficulties which beset the career of a daily governess as she did of the thousands of miles which separate Paris from New York, and "allant toujours droit devant elle, et ouvrant sur tout et sur tous ses grands yeux limpides, comme pour dire, 'Oh! regardez! regardez! Il n'y a rien de cach   l  -dedans!'" She is somewhat of a problem to her friends, most of whom can scarcely believe that it was possible for her to walk alone through the streets of New York, and to attend public lectures unescorted, without meeting with at least undesirable expressions of admiration. She assures them that never but once did she meet with the slightest annoyance, for in America, "if a man were to show himself wanting in respect towards a woman, all the passers by who had wives, or daughters, or sisters of their own would hasten to defend her and to punish him." The single exception to this general courtesy occurred at a botanical lecture, on an occasion when she was one of the four or five ladies who found themselves forming part of an audience of three hundred persons. While she was taking her notes, she says, she suddenly saw a piece of paper, folded like a letter, pass over her shoulder and fall on her sleeve. A thrill immediately ran through the assembly. "Well, and what did you do?" asks one of her admiring friends. "Do," she replies, suiting the action to her words, "Why, I went on writing! And then, when the Professor had finished, I raised my arm like that . . . and I blew the note off as if it had been some paltry insect! . . . Every one began to laugh and applaud, and the young man had to leave under a storm of jeers."

But on her return home to France Miss Suzanne finds a marked difference in the treatment she receives. Instead of behaving towards her with respectful courtesy, all the men she meets pay her compliments, send her letters containing passionate protestations, or make open love to her after an hour's acquaintance. Her aunt, Villeneuve's young sister Marthe, tells her it is the fashion of the country. Every Frenchman has a dash of the old troubadour element in him, and as soon as he finds himself alone with a pretty woman who is so unfortunate as to be poor and "unattached," he has only two ideas—"the first is to give a touch to his cravat and to run his fingers through his hair; the second, to say to himself, 'Ah   ! il s'agit de faire la cour    cette petite dame-l  .'" If a pretty girl in Suzanne's position, continues Madlle. Marthe, goes to consult a lawyer, a doctor, a man of science, at her first visit he pays her compliments, at the second he calls her his pretty client, at the third he slips a *billet-doux* into her hand, slides his arm round her waist, or flings himself on his knees at her feet. If she goes to ask a favour from any State functionary, she is received literally with open arms. In every office protectors and recommenders swarm around her. At the end of a couple of days the clerks press her hand, the head of the department kisses her forehead, and then he conducts her to the Minister. At this point Suzanne interrupts her aunt, exclaiming, "What? do you mean to say that Ministers also . . .?" To which Marthe replies, "Oh, no, no! not at all. Ministers are quite superior to these little weaknesses! their function is, as it were, a sacred office." It is worth remarking that, when the play was performed, the censorship struck out the word *Ministres*, and replaced it by *administrateurs g  n  raux*. Suzanne cannot understand this state of things. There is about her, says one of her friends, an atmosphere of

purity which purifies all with which she comes into contact, and she can scarcely imagine how people can soil their consciences by such disgraceful conduct as that which her aunt proceeds to relate to her. But after a time her straightforward way of speaking and behaving exposes her to a slight misconception. In a public conveyance she meets one day a young man who has left his money at home, and she offers to pay his fare for him. It seems quite natural to her to help any one whom she sees in difficulty. But he, instead of recognising "tout ce qu'il y avait d'adorable ing  nuit   et d'aimable piti   dans cette action," imagines, with a young Frenchman's natural fatuity, that he has made a conquest; and when he obtains leave to call and pay his debt in person, he feels sure of the fact, and comes prepared to enjoy an easy victory. "Je me pr  sentai en irr  sistible," he tells her afterwards.

The Count Paul de Brignolles, the cavalier in question, is a young Frenchman of the usual type, with the exception of having more honesty and candour in his character than most of his friends can boast. His mother, who of course adores him, never has reason to complain of him till chance throws him in the way of one of those women who are to be seen at the theatres "enthroned by the side of some imbecile millionaire, and blazing with shameful diamonds," who tear away sons from their mothers, and then drag them down to degradation. The susceptible young Paul has become utterly fascinated by the lady who bears the singular name of Laurence Denham; for her he has deserted his mother; in order to stay with her he is now hesitating about following his regiment to Algeria, and he is even mad enough to wish to marry her. His mother is at first in despair, but after a time the hope begins to dawn within her breast that she may be able to save him. Finding that he admires Suzanne, she throws him and her as much as possible together, at first without any sinister motive, for she believes that the young girl is engaged to her father's pupil, Joseph Dupont, and she has complete faith in her uprightness and purity. As to her son, she has no fear for him, thinking it is only a Platonic affection that he testifies for the pretty young governess. But after a time, as she is subsequently obliged to confess, the idea that Paul may fall in love with his "guide, philosopher, and friend" does sometimes flit across her mind; but she resolutely shuts her eyes to the possible danger, thinking only how she may save him from the actual and terrible peril to which he is at the time exposed. For, as she says, a mother's love is capable of all sorts of follies and of meannesses. To save her son a mother would sacrifice her life with rapture, would suffer martyrdom singing for joy, would fling to the winds all that she cared for, all she had to live by. That is true. But to save her son she would also tell lies, and commit the basest actions. So she acts, though scarcely with deliberation, as her friend Colonel Tavernier tells her a lady of his acquaintance did, who tried to prevent her son from breaking hearts outside her home by providing him with a victim within. As soon as the little Marquis De Blossac, he says, arrived at the dangerous age, his kind mamma sent for "le plus joli petit paratonnerre" in the person of a charming *demoiselle de compagnie*. "Impossible que le jeune homme ne l'aim  t pas! . . . plus impossible encore qu'il l'  pous  t! . . . De fa  on que . . . vous comprenez! . . . S  t  me de l'immortel Franklin! la marquise fit tomber le tonnerre chez elle . . . pour emp  cher son fils d'  tre foudroy   au dehors! . . . C'est de la physique appliqu  e    l'amour maternel!" After all, says the Countess de Brignolles, a mother may well be excused for not knowing exactly what she is doing while she is fighting such a woman as her antagonist, one of whom the following story had been told. A young man had been fascinated by her, but left her for a time. "His poor mother thought her son was saved. That woman got hold of him again. He falls ill, he has himself carried to that woman's house! He dies. . . . His last sigh is received by that woman! His mother demands his remains; she is shown her son's will. . . . He had bequeathed his dead body to that woman!"

Unfortunately, it turns out that Suzanne's engagement to marry Joseph Dupont has no real existence whatsoever, for it is not she, but her young Aunt Marthe, who is the object of his admiration. Seeing that the young Count admires her, Suzanne supposes that he wishes to marry her, and when he says he loves her, she at once confesses she loves him. And her idea is that "Quand un homme de c  ur a dit    une jeune fille, 'Je vous aime!' et qu'elle lui a r  pondu: 'Je vous aime aussi!' c'est fini," and the couple should wed. Up to this time she has never suspected her lover of any unworthy feeling, but when her aunt has told her what she thinks about him, she is horrified. At this moment Paul enters, and Suzanne instantly attacks him with the direct question:—"Is it true that when you came here and told me you loved me, you wished to make me your mistress?" It is a strange opening to a conversation, and Marthe may well say, "Oh! elle a des man  res d'aborder les questions." Paul hesitates a moment, and then confesses it is true. Suzanne thanks him for his frankness, and is leaving the room, when he stops her. Then he tells his tale. When she addressed him, an utter stranger, and offered to pay his fare from Courbevoie, and still more, when she allowed him to call upon her afterwards, he thought he had to deal with one who wished to be conquered. But when he had learnt to know her well, and to read her character aright, he repented him of his first design, and gradually he came to love her honestly and truly, and so to pass "from the torture of loving what one despises . . . to the purest of all raptures . . . the joy of respecting what one loves." It is unneces-



sary to dwell on what follows. The gist of the story lies in what has been described.

One of the best characters is that of Villeneuve's sister Marthe, charmingly represented on the stage by Madlle. Chaumont, who throws into her part an amount of vivacity and intelligence which make her a formidable rival to Suzanne, admirably as the heroine's rôle is interpreted by Madlle. Pierson. She is supposed to be a woman of five-and-twenty, who has the candour to acknowledge that she is not beautiful, and the courage to make the best of her lot in life without yielding to envy or querulousness. Light and lively and sympathetic, she wins all hearts while declaring that she is too plain even to produce an effect upon any one. The artist Villeneuve is also an excellent character, and several of his speeches are exceedingly interesting, as, for instance, that in which he speaks of his dreary boyhood; how he had, as a peasant's son, to begin to make money at seven years old, to look after cattle at ten for ten sous a day, to learn a trade later on in order to support his aged parents, so that till he was thirty he could neither read nor write. And then he breaks out into a burst of anger against legislators who tear a son from his father in order to make him a soldier, but do not trouble themselves about making a man of him. "They can send him to the battle-field; they cannot send him to a school. They can, and ought to say to him, 'Pay your country the debt of blood,' and cannot add 'Pay it that of intelligence, too.'" Nor ought the Colonel Tavernier to be passed over without a word of commendation; the gallant old soldier of the First Empire who has been handsome and cannot forget the fact, for "pour un homme, avoir été beau, c'est comme avoir été ministre! Il croit toujours l'être! c'est indélébile comme un sacrement." Nor can he quite get rid of his old hostility to England; for when Villeneuve says that our International Exhibitions have greatly increased the friendly relations between England and France, since those who meet on these great battle-fields of industry feel that "les hostilités tombent! les haines s'effacent! le cœur s'élargit! on n'aime par moins son pays, mais on ne déteste plus les autres!" he exclaims, "J'ai toujours dit que ces expositions n'étaient bonnes qu'à démolir les masses!"

#### OBSTACLES TO MISSIONARY SUCCESS.\*

THE essay whose title we quote obtained the Maitland Prize at Cambridge in the year 1867. For the benefit of those ignorant persons who may never have heard of the prize in question, we may add that it was founded in memory of Sir Peregrine Maitland, and is given for an essay upon some topic connected with missionary enterprise. We will not discuss the difficult questions as to whether the foundation of prize essays is a good mode of doing honour to a man's memory, and whether the composition of essays about missionary enterprise by members of the University of Cambridge is likely to produce any very tangible results. If we were to argue these points, the first obvious consideration would be that prize essays of the ordinary stamp are generally of very little service to any one but the gentleman who gets the prize. Every now and then a prize essay or a prize poem rises to something better than the ordinary schoolboy level; and as Mr. Smith, the author of the present performance, is a Master of Arts and a Fellow of Trinity, we thought that his writing upon a singularly interesting question might not improbably stand out above the general run of its class. In this we must say that we have been disappointed. The essay has no pretensions to original research or to independent thought. We are treated to the ordinary series of facts, and, if the style is free from the usual pomposities of ambitious youth, it has a strong and, to our taste, a rather unpleasant savour of the commonplace sermon. It is worth notice, therefore, not so much as giving a new solution to a troublesome problem, as because it unconsciously displays the peculiar weakness of the solution, which it repeats perhaps for the thousandth time. Nothing could be more interesting than an original contribution to our knowledge of the causes which have hitherto limited the spread of Christianity. Why has it happened that, after spreading gradually but steadily throughout the European nations, it has never since made any conquests of importance? Why is it that Mahomedans and fetish-worshippers, Arabs and negroes and Chinese, have remained insensible to the persevering efforts that have been made during the last three centuries to impart to them the religion of the most cultivated races? Why have all the different sects, from the cultivated Jesuits to the roughest Protestants, succeeded at most in making trifling lodgments in the domains of heathen error? A full answer to this question would be profoundly interesting, not merely to those who take a direct interest in modern missions, but to every intelligent student of the history of civilization.

The answer which is generally given in pulpits, and which is expanded at some length by Mr. Smith, is easily stated. He divides his essay characteristically into two main heads, each with proper subdivisions, and concluded by the usual recapitulation and application. Christian missionaries have not succeeded—first, because they have not tried the proper method. They have adopted coercion or legislation or "accommodation," and to each of these plans there are certain obvious objections. Secondly, Christian missions have not succeeded because the settlers and others by whom they were surrounded have in different ways brought scandal upon the good cause. Here, again, we have the

orthodox three subdivisions. The crimes of the nominal Christians give rise to obstacles of oppression, to obstacles of avarice, and to obstacles of evil example. The greater part of the essay is devoted to illustrating these three classes of obstacle, and, without following Mr. Smith's methodical arrangement, we may easily indicate the general nature of his indictment against the behaviour of Europeans to other races. We may begin, for example, with North America. There the early Puritans, in spite of their professions of religious liberty, not unfrequently adopted the Jewish method of smiting the unbelievers hip and thigh. Their descendants have since invented, and reduced to practice, the plan of improving native populations off the face of the earth. By the help of strong liquors and sometimes more direct compulsion, they have driven the Indians before them as quickly as the buffaloes. Coming to the West Indies, we have the horrors of the slave trade, which has helped to keep Africa in a state of chronic anarchy, and which was long accompanied by an actual persecution of Christian missionaries. In Mexico there is the extirpation of an ancient civilization, and the wholesale slaughter of unoffending Indians. In the Pacific Ocean we are told how disreputable sailors wander "on from island unto island in the gateways of the day," carrying with them the seeds of vices and diseases which are rapidly destroying the luckless islanders, and giving them a pardonable prejudice against the creed of their corrupters. The story of the scandal given by Englishmen in India, and of the sinful lukewarmness of the Company, has been told in a thousand missionary reports. And in Africa, what with the enormities of the Dutch Boors who made systematic battues of Bushmen, and the atrocities of the Portuguese slave-traders, to say nothing of the ill behaviour of the English race, it is easy to prove that Christianity must present itself to the negro as the creed of murderers and men-stealers. One of the intelligent natives who are always meeting missionaries, and who, as we know, sometimes puzzle even bishops, is represented as saying to his would-be converter, "Do the people who killed my children and took away my cattle believe these things?" This is the pith of the whole essay, and is repeated in different forms through the mouths of every heathen race, from Red Indians to Hindoos.

Now it is indisputable that there is a great deal of unpleasant truth in all this. The Christians have succeeded in exterminating or enslaving a considerable fraction of the unbelieving population of the globe, and in corrupting or in intensely disgusting many of the remainder. Still there are certain obvious deductions to be made. The Christians in Africa have doubtless been great oppressors, but will Mr. Smith say that their morality is not superior to that of the native tribes? Are the natives really so much shocked at the man-hunting and shooting which the slave-dealers practise? If we may believe any of the travellers who have penetrated into the interior, those amusements have long been customary among the natives themselves. The lowest Europeans may sink to the level of the indigenous tribes, and adopt some of their barbarous customs. But the novelty to an African would be, not that any one should make slaves of his neighbours, but that any one should object to so ancient and well established a custom. It is very easy, and in its proper place very right, for a missionary to declaim against the scandal brought upon his teaching by those who profess to believe in it; and, if he chooses, he may invent a simple-minded savage to be scandalized by the gross inconsistency. There is not a more common rhetorical device. But after making allowance for special cases, we presume that the level of European morality is, on the whole, above that of the negro; and that, when the savage comes in contact with a larger section of society than that which is composed of slave-dealers and of runaway sailors, he must be sensible of the difference. If, on the other hand, we are to assume that Christian morality is really lower than that of heathen nations, we arrive at rather an awkward argument in the mouth of a Christian advocate.

The real difficulty, however, of accepting this explanation lies deeper. When a preacher tells us that we are all miserable sinners, he is announcing an important truth; but he cannot fairly use his doctrine to account, say, for the ill success of the Church of England in comparison with some other Churches, for they are miserable sinners too. In the same way Mr. Smith seems to be proving too much. If Christians now exhibit so many failings as to account for their shortcomings in the work of conversion, how was it that they succeeded in the earlier ages of the Church? If we say that in the apostolic era they showed a distinctly superior morality to that of the surrounding population, it cannot be said that their immunity from scandal lasted for many generations. Mr. Smith quotes "the wars of Charlemagne with the Pagan Saxons" as an instance of the improper mode of conversion. It may have been very wrong, but unfortunately it succeeded. The Christians of that era were certainly as much given to oppression, and to every kind of vice, as the modern European nations. Their antagonists were in all probability very superior, in the same respects, to many of the lower races with whom we have come in contact in modern times. The contrast, therefore, was less favourable to the true creed than it is at the present moment. And yet at that time the process of conversion went on steadily, whereas at the present moment it is almost at a standstill. In the eighth century Christians probably indulged as freely in massacre and pillage as the still Pagan tribes around them, and certainly more freely than the worst-behaved amongst the civilized nations of the present day. Yet we do not find that the atrocities of oppression, of avarice, or of evil example, of which they were guilty, were a sufficient

\* *Obstacles to Missionary Success among the Heathen.* By William Saumarez Smith, M.A. London and Cambridge: Macmillan & Co. 1868.

hindrance to the spread of their creed. As soon as it became evident that professing Christians were capable of the worst possible vices—and we cannot fancy that that epoch was very long delayed—the scandal of which Mr. Smith speaks would be felt as a stumbling-block in the way of conversions. The Pagan Saxon might certainly have anticipated the intelligent Hottentot, and have asked whether the Franks who killed his children and stole his cattle really believed their professed creed. But, somehow or other, he got over the difficulty, and became a Christian; whereas the Hottentot continues to believe in his fetishes, and gives for a reason—at least as interpreted by missionaries—his dislike to Christian vices.

We might indeed bring the argument nearer our own days. The most prominent case of conversion to Christianity is that of the negro slaves in America. They were made into Christians, even in the times when slavery was at its worst, by being forcibly taken from their own country and subjected to the lash of a set of white masters. In spite of the objections of some of the West Indian planters, noticed by Mr. Smith, and the very unpleasant examples of every kind of vice which were constantly before their eyes, they certainly, somehow or other, became at least superficially Christian. The precedent is not one for imitation, but, to complete Mr. Smith's theory, he ought to account for it. The reason is, probably, that when an inferior race is brought into sufficiently close contact with its superiors in civilization, if not in morals, it will probably end by adopting their opinions, if it does not disappear altogether. If the whole framework of Hindoo society were broken up, and the natives were reduced to be hewers of wood and drawers of water in the midst of a numerous European population, they would probably become Christians in spite of the cruelty or the evil example of their masters. To introduce a higher form of faith among a people which still has its own institutions and its own teachers, merely by the contagion of a small body of foreign missionaries, is of course a far more difficult problem. But, so far as we can judge from history, the great objection to persecution is not so much that it is ineffectual, as that the victory is won at a cost which no result can repay.

It would appear, in short, that the great obstacle to missionary success is the difficulty of bringing into effectual mental contact two races at extremely different stages of civilization. The obstacles noticed by Mr. Smith are doubtless considerable, but they are subsidiary. They render more intense the aversion which the lower race naturally conceives for the more civilized intruders, but they cannot be rightly appreciated except in relation to the deeper causes of divergence. Christianity originally spread through a family of nations which, in spite of wide differences, were still sufficiently related in blood and in their habits of thought to receive each other's civil and religious institutions. But to provide means of overleaping the wide gap which separates the savage negro tribe from the civilized European is a more difficult, though not an insuperable, problem. The full appreciation of the truths of Christianity involves familiarity with so many thoughts scarcely intelligible to the inferior races, that it is not wonderful that it is difficult to impress it upon them. The attempt of the Jesuits to "accommodate" their creed to native minds at least recognised the difficulty, though it was an unworthy mode of meeting it. Mr. Smith's theory would simply ignore the really important obstacles, and it is the more hopeless because we can hardly anticipate any rapid increase of conversions if the wickedness of some Christians is always to be a sufficient obstacle to success. Probably scandal will abound for some time to come.

#### GIANTS AND DWARFS.\*

WHY a man should write a book about any one thing rather than any other seems, in about ninety out of every hundred cases of authorship, to be perfectly beyond explanation. In something like this percentage there is no reason in particular visible why the author should have selected his subject in preference to all other possible subjects. But then, on the other hand, there is usually no specially strong reason why he should not treat the matter he has chosen quite as well as any other matter that might have been chosen for him. Still we cannot help wondering very often what conjunction of circumstances, what inherited predisposition, what outside conditions should impel men to write some of the books under which the booksellers' shelves and the general reader's mind groan and travail. It would be highly interesting, for example, to ascertain how on earth it was ever borne into Mr. Wood's mind that he should write a book about giants and dwarfs. In what strange mood could such a theme present itself, and what would a man's emotions be on discovering that to this he was called and predestined, that here lay his mission to mankind, and his contribution to the common stock? Other men, Mr. Wood must have felt, may write ancient history or modern history, or may delight to trace the growth of ideas and the progress of the race; other men may devote themselves to poetry, to science, to philosophy; to me the highest subject possible is to be sought, not in these speculative regions, but in the positive study of the feet and inches of the very biggest men and women, and the very smallest men and women, whom nature in her most sportive moods has ever produced. We cannot blame a man to whom such a conviction has once finally presented itself. We can only marvel with exceeding great amazement. But we must at all events do Mr. Wood the justice to say that,

having once chosen his subject, he has made the best of it, and allowed it to possess him very fully indeed, as true artists invariably do. He shows no sign that he thinks the subject a funny one, but, on the contrary, treats it with wonderful gravity and seriousness. A creature nine feet long or a creature nine inches short is to him a precious treasure, to be amply described, and nicely compared with other beings, and softly meditated upon. This sentiment is in itself not unfamiliar. One knows the enthusiasm of the specialist all over the world—how he may become penetrated with an irresistible zeal for anything strange under the sun, from rare postage stamps and beetles up to queer torsos and buried cities. Mr. Wood comes fully up to the mark in this eccentric sort of zeal. No giant and no dwarf escapes him. History, poetry, fiction are all laid under heavy contribution and conscientiously ransacked, and another source of his facts discloses to us what might at first seem incredible, that there is a second gentleman in the country who shares his speciality. This gentleman, it appears, possesses a "valuable collection of old and scarce handbills, advertisements, and engravings relating to giants and dwarfs, by the use of which materials the author has added much to the interest and importance of this book." What with this modern material and what with the old material of established history, Mr. Wood has produced a most comprehensive compilation on a subject which, in its own way, must be pronounced most abstruse and recondite. He begins his giants with Aza and Schemchozi, mentioned in the spurious book of Enoch, and comes down to as late as Chang and Sir William Don; while, with the dwarfs, he starts from the book of Leviticus, where it is ordained that no dwarf shall make offerings on the altar, and descends to Tom Thumb and Miss Hipkins. There is something undeniably imposing in the notion of the inquirer traversing the immense region of human history in this way, not asking how empires rose and declined, how men grew better or wiser or happier, not interrogating history for illustrations of great truths, but simply pressing her for the names and sizes of the biggest and the least of human beings.

The ancients do not interest us very deeply. Some of them are a shade too ancient—Polyphemus, for example. As we get rather lower down in history they become more diverting. The Emperor Maximus is perhaps the first giant who really excites the reader as, in so wonderful a book, he may fairly expect to be excited. Maximus was pretty nearly nine feet, and, unlike too many of Mr. Wood's big heroes, he was no slim threadpaper, for he habitually used his wife's bracelet for a thumb ring, he could break a horse's thigh with a kick and strike its teeth out with a blow of his fist, and he could draw a carriage that two oxen could not move. It is not surprising to find that he generally consumed as much as forty pounds weight of flesh every day, and washed the mass down with six gallons of wine. After this substantial and lifelike picture we turn over with some impatience the pages which only tell us of detached bones, leading us to suppose that their owners when alive must have measured seventeen feet high; or of teeth which weighed five and a half pounds each. A man of this colossal height, and a tooth of this colossal weight, are both far beyond one's powers of realization. Who would say that he can realize what a man and brother looks like when he is seventeen feet high? It is a pleasant change, after passing through the valley of the bones and teeth of giants, to come upon the old legend of Jack the Giant-Killer, for Mr. Wood does not confine himself to recorded history by any means, even thinking it worth while to make commemoration of Rabelais's Gargantua and Bunyan's Giant Despair. People often think that the fable of Jack the Giant-Killer is exclusively Northern and Teutonic. According to Mr. Wood, the Pandoo Beeman, a figure in Hindoo story, who went through many adventures in slaying rachsas or giants, is the exact Eastern prototype of our Northern Jack. The truth is that neither legend is connected with the other by way of descent. They are expressions of a belief common to all primitive peoples, who invariably associate the supreme workers of mischief with notions of great size and stature, only to be overcome by the superior craft of smaller mortals. Ulysses and Polyphemus in the old myth, and David and Goliath in the sacred history, equally illustrate this kind of conviction among rude and primitive tribes. But it is unnecessary to introduce this sort of consideration in noticing the volume before us, for Mr. Wood goes into Giantology, not with the eye of a philosopher, but with a plain foot-rule. To him a giant is a giant, and can never be treated as the embodiment of an idea, primitive or other. There are cases, by the way, where not vice but virtue is associated with size, and some of these are rather startling. For example, people who have enjoyed the Arthurian legend as poetized and sentimentalized by Mr. Tennyson, probably picture the good Arthur as a polished gentleman and knight, about five feet eleven, and his unfaithful Queen as perhaps six or five inches less. Not much poetry remains, if we credit the tradition that "King Arthur was fifteen foote longe" in the prime of his life, while Guinevere was twelve feet long. We cannot very well feel poetic over the sorrows of a man of fifteen feet, however blameless he may have been, nor over the loves of a lady of twelve feet, however moving her tale. Enormous size is no disqualification for humane motion and conduct; but somehow, by association of ideas, to be amazing in any outside and visible respect of body conveys an impression of moods and passions of amazing sort within. Lamb, in his paper on the "Gentle Giantess," quoted by Mr. Wood, hints at the injustice of this. Of the Gentle Giantess, who was an

\* *Giants and Dwarfs.* By Edward J. Wood. London: Richard Bentley. 1868.



Oxford lady, he declares that "with more than man's bulk, her humours and occupations are eminently feminine. She sighs—being six feet high. She languisheth—being two feet wide. She worketh slender sprigs upon the delicate muslin—her fingers being capable of moulding a Colossus. She sippeth her wine out of her glass daintily—her capacity being that of a tun of Heidelberg. She goeth mincingly with those feet of hers, whose solidity need not fear the black ox's pressure." So, after all, even if Guinevere was twelve feet long, she may have had all the charms and experienced all the passions of a woman with less corporeal capacity for doing and suffering so much. Occasionally, this capacity must, we should suppose, be attended by what looks like inconvenience. But we like to think of the giantess who, being unfortunately married to a small and incompatible husband, would frequently "seize him by the back of the neck, and hold him at arm's length till he was nearly choked." The mother of Hales, the famous Norfolk giant, was six feet high, and weighed fourteen stones. His father was six feet six inches. This tremendous couple had five daughters and four sons. The average height of the sons was six feet six inches, and that of the daughters six feet three and a half inches. Robert Hales himself was seven feet six; he weighed thirty-three stone; he was sixty-two inches round the chest, thirty-six across his shoulders, and twenty-one inches round the calf of the leg. He died of consumption at the age of forty-three. Consumption, as might be anticipated, is the fatal enemy of most giants. Gigantic children, indeed, seem to die of sheer old age. The famous Willingham Prodigy was four feet high when he was only three years and a couple of months old; "his limbs nearly as large and strong as a man's, and his voice deeper than that of most men." The creature died at five years old, being then four feet six inches, and "his visage and whole appearance being those of a decrepit old man, worn out with years." Without professing to have meditated upon the matter as deeply as Mr. Wood has doubtless done, we rather question the justice of including these horribly monstrous babies under the head of giantology. An adult giant may be a very fine fellow, but gigantic infants are simply as disgusting as the preparations one may see in bottles in a surgical museum. Perhaps all giants belong more or less to this category, for though they don't all die in infancy, they seldom live to anything like an advanced age; in this respect, as our giantologist points out, differing from dwarfs, who frequently reach quite venerable years. Forty is, for a giant, extreme longevity.

Perhaps the monstrosity is most disgusting in the department of what Mr. Wood calls Dwarfiana. We confess to a feeling quite the reverse of pleasurable in reading of the girl, for instance, "not much above eighteen inches long, having never a perfect bone in a part of her, only the head; yet she hath all her senses to admiration, and discourses, reads well, sings, whistles, and all very pleasant to hear." Nor on the whole is it pleasing to hear of the gentleman six feet high, and seventy-three years old, who married the young woman who was only twenty, and not more than three feet high. Still, as an author has been found able to take interest enough in such things to compile a book about them, it may perhaps be fairly assumed that there will be other people with interest enough in them to read the book.

#### THE HIGH COMMISSION.\*

WE hardly know why this half-pamphlet, half-book, should have reached us just now, at the age of two years and upwards, unless it be that anything illustrating the relation between the spiritual and temporal powers is held to be specially necessary for these times. The Court of High Commission may be looked on as the grand development of the theory of the two powers which culminated in the joint despotism of Charles and Laud. In the words of "His Majesty's Declaration," prefixed to this day to the Articles in our Prayer-Books, "our Commission Ecclesiastical" was an engine by which "our displeasure and the Church's censure" were dealt out against offenders of various kinds. Would Henry the Eighth, would Elizabeth, would even the High and Mighty Prince James, have talked about "the Church's censure"? We trow not. The language of the Declaration, the view of the High Commission Court taken in it, belongs pre-eminently to the time when the authority of the Supreme Governor of the Church was vigorously preached, but when that Supreme Governor was himself somehow converted into an ecclesiastical functionary. The character of any court, whether it be civil, ecclesiastical, military, or any other, clearly does not depend on the quality of the judges who sit in it, but on the nature of the authority by which it is commissioned. A non-resident Bishop of St. David's once entrusted the care of his diocese to "a stout knight." If this valiant man sat in a court held by the Bishop's authority to decide ecclesiastical causes, the military character of the judge in no way changed the tribunal into a court-martial. So, if we could conceive a body of Bishops sitting by military authority to judge of military offences, the court would be a court-martial all the same, and not an ecclesiastical court. Now the Court of High Commission was a court which sat wholly by the authority of the King. Lawyers tell us that the ecclesiastical courts are, after all, the King's courts, and so, in a certain sense, they are. But they are not the King's Courts in the same immediate sense as the Chancery or the King's Bench. But the Court of High Commission was as much the

King's Court as any court which heard charges of treason or felony. It was the Court of the King in his character, as King Charles puts it, of "Defender of the Faith and Supreme Governor of the Church within these his dominions." The Court consisted of such persons as the King chose to commission. They might be laymen, they might be Bishops, they commonly were some of both classes, but in any case they were simply the King's Commissioners, acting simply by his authority. No possible flight of the imagination could invest them with any transcendent spiritual character, such as we may conceive attaching to the College of Cardinals, the Court of Arches, or the General Assembly. The Court was not even a Court of Appeal to guide and correct Courts sitting by ecclesiastical authority. It was, in that which determines the nature of a Court—the source from which its authority proceeds—a tribunal purely secular. Yet in this Court High Churchmen like Laud habitually sat and acted, and seem to have thoroughly approved of its constitution and working. And a King of an ecclesiastical turn, acting doubtless by their advice, looks on it as a Court capable of dispensing, not only his own displeasure, but also "the Church's censure."

All this clearly points to a notion of the Royal supremacy quite different from any entertained by Henry the Second or Henry the Eighth. The Lord's Anointed, ruling by divine right, was no longer merely of the earth, earthy; he was the highest officer of the Church, entitled to wield the Church's own thunders. And yet a little thought might have shown that the two notions which combined to invest the King with this sacred character were actually inconsistent with one another. The King could not become in any sense the Lord's Anointed till he had received the consecrating unction at his coronation. This was of course the old notion of a King. Election or hereditary descent, as the case might be, gave a particular person the sole right to be King. But election or hereditary descent could not of itself make him King, any more than the nomination of an Emperor or the election of a Chapter could of itself make a man a Bishop. In either case, election, descent, nomination, pointed out the person for the office; but it was the sacramental rite of consecration which could alone confer the office itself. A King, according to the old theory, however indisputable his right, was not King till he was crowned, any more than the most lawfully chosen Bishop was Bishop till he was consecrated. The only difference between the two conceptions seems to be that a Bishop once consecrated needed no fresh consecration on election to another see, while a King's consecration was local, and a King who held several kingdoms, the Emperor of course being the greatest example, needed a separate consecration for each. But this notion of a sanctity conveyed by the unction is something quite incompatible with the strict hereditary notion, according to which the King becomes King the moment that the breath is out of his predecessor's body. The divines of Charles the First's time were very fond of calling their sovereign the Lord's Anointed, and of challenging obedience for him on that score. But they would have shrunk with horror from the notion that, from the moment when James died till the moment when Charles became the Lord's Anointed, England was without any King at all. In fact the strict hereditary theory reduces the ceremony of Royal consecration to a mere pageant. A modern coronation may be attractive and seemly and edifying and any number of other excellent things. But a ceremony performed on a person who is already in the full possession of the kingly title and in the full exercise of kingly power is no longer the ancient sacramental rite which made a man King who up to that moment was only King-elect.

Here then is an utter contradiction between the two ideas which combined to make up the Stuart conception of His Most Sacred Majesty. Of that conception a High Commission Court, pronouncing "the Church's censure" by His Majesty's authority, seems the fullest development. As for the Court itself, its character is written in the pages of English history during the three reigns during which it flourished. It was constantly enlarging its powers, constantly meddling more and more with everybody's affairs, constantly inflicting more and more severe penalties. Its mixed character, that of an ecclesiastical court acting by royal authority, gave it a happy capacity for uniting all the vices which can possibly be found in any tribunal. No purely temporal court in the worst times took upon itself to administer the oath *ex officio*, by which a man is called on to criminate himself. The first principles of all criminal jurisprudence, whether we go for them to the Gospel or to the Great Charter, forbid any such proceeding. "Nemo tenetur prodere seipsum" is simply the echo of "Why askest thou me? Ask them that heard me." But an ecclesiastical court acts *pro salute anime*; its object is not, in the interest of society, to inflict vengeance on the life, limb, or estate of the offender; its object is to inflict, for his soul's health, such gentle spiritual chastisement as may lead to the reformation of his manners and excesses. One can understand how, in such a court as this, the idea might arise that the defendant was bound, in the name of holy obedience, to confess every sin and to answer every question put to him by a judge who was seeking nothing but his own highest welfare. The question of the oath *ex officio* is in fact part of the larger question of confession. We see at once how dangerous and how open to abuse such a practice is in any case. But when it is applied in a case where the slightest temporal consequences are involved, it becomes at once perfectly monstrous. It is a falling back from the jurisprudence of the Gospel upon the jurisprudence of the Law. The judge who administers the oath is playing the part of Joshua towards Achan.

\* *The High Commission. Notices of the Court and its Proceedings.* By John Southernden Burn. London: J. R. Smith. 1865.

and the High Commission Court at last took to inflicting penalties only less fearful than the doom of Achan. The Court thus grew to be the most terrible of all engines of oppression. As an ecclesiastical Court, it made use of all the old ecclesiastical machinery, bad enough in itself, but ten times worse when applied to such a purpose. As the King's Court, it pronounced temporal penalties, and sometimes, it is said, refused to hear the defendant's witnesses on the ground that they were witnesses against the King. In short, the High Commission Court, instituted to carry out the Protestant doctrine of the Royal Supremacy, came nearer than anything that has ever been in England before or since to the likeness of the Spanish Inquisition.

We hardly see what is Mr. Burn's special object in the little work before us, unless it be to show that Elizabeth was no less guilty in this matter than James and Charles. Elizabeth certainly has the discredit of having first founded the Court, but it is certain—indeed it hardly could be otherwise—that the latter state of the Court was worse than the former. It certainly grew more meddling and more merciless as it went on. Mr. Burn's book contains a great many illustrations of the working of the Court; but most of them come from very obvious sources, and they are put together in a chaotic sort of fashion. He traces the origin of the Court up to the Commission granted by Henry the Eighth to Cromwell to act as his Vicegerent in ecclesiastical matters. After the fall of Cromwell no other Vicegerent was appointed, but it must not be forgotten that Henry himself heard and sentenced at least one heretic in person—Cranmer of course being prominent in hunting down the wretch who, while Henry yet lived, dared to dispute the doctrine of Transubstantiation. But under Edward the Sixth we get Royal visitors and visitations superseding the ordinary episcopal jurisdiction, and, what Mr. Burn does not mention, we find Bishops taking out Royal Commissions to exercise their ordinary episcopal jurisdiction. When he reaches Queen Mary, Mr. Burn gets a little puzzled:—

Upon the accession of Queen Mary, she repealed all articles and provisions made against "the see apostolick of Rome," since the 20th year of King Henry VIII., and re-established all spiritual and ecclesiastical possessions, and also the supremacy of the Pope. Notwithstanding this, however, bishops were turned out, and many arbitrary acts done by the Queen as Head of the Church, though such a power was condemned by her as sinful and sacrilegious.

Mary's reign was short, but it falls into two distinct stages. The restoration of the Pope's supremacy was not made "on the accession of Mary," but, as Mr. Burn's own reference shows, by "1 and 2 Philip and Mary, c. 8," therefore not till after her marriage. Till then, she bore, like her father and brother, that title of Head of the Church which she then laid down, and which Elizabeth did not revive. There is therefore no place for Mr. Burn's "notwithstanding." It is strange what difficulty people seem to have in taking in these very plain facts. But the reign of Mary comes within the period of "the Reformation," and is therefore liable to chronological confusions.

In Elizabeth's reign the High Commission Court gradually grows up out of local Commissions for particular provinces or dioceses. The Bishops seem to have liked having their hands strengthened in this way, even though they had thus to share their jurisdiction with other Commissioners. Mr. Burn goes carefully, if clumsily, through the whole history of the Court, and ends somewhat after the manner of a tombstone:—

In the first year of this reign an Act passed reciting that the late King James the Second, by the assistance of divers evil Counsellors, Judges, and Ministers employed by him, did endeavour to subvert and extirpate the Protestant religion and the laws and liberties of this kingdom, and amongst other means "By issuing and causing to be executed a Commission, under the great seal, for erecting a Court called 'The Court of Commission for Ecclesiastical Causes.' The Act then declared that the Commission for erecting the late Court of Commission for Ecclesiastical Causes, and all other Commissions and Courts of the like nature, are 'ILLEGAL AND PERNICIOUS.'"

AND SO FELL THE HIGH COMMISSION,  
ALIAS  
THE ENGLISH INQUISITION.

We will quote one passage more:—

To countenance these proceedings the King summoned the twelve judges to the Star Chamber, and demanded whether the deprivation of clergymen by the High Commissioners, for refusing to conform to ceremonies, was lawful, and the Judges answered in the affirmative. So the Archbishop took fresh courage, and a more grievous persecution of the orthodox faith is not to be met with in any prince's reign.

We suppose that the strongest Ritualist would hardly maintain that the orthodox faith consists in conforming to ceremonies, but it is plain that Mr. Burn or his authority makes his orthodox faith to consist in not conforming to them.

#### SOONER OR LATER.\*

*SOONER or Later* appears to us the most important and the best-considered work that Mr. Brooks has yet produced. Judging by the vigour and vitality of the story, we would by no means take it on ourselves to say that it is the best that he can or will produce. For if it has the ripeness of thought and the calmness of judgment which come from the wide experience of maturity, it has also the *verve* and force of a young man's hand, and nowhere shows signs of exhaustion—nowhere makes us feel that the author has played out his last and best trump-card. On

the contrary, the reader feels sure that there is more where that came from, and that probably Mr. Brooks's next long-sustained effort will be even better than this. The thing which especially strikes us in this work is its unvarying good temper, and the kindly spirit of its philosophy. It shows London society as it actually exists, without condemnation or apology; gives us examples of its looseness and pleasant immoralities, its carelessness of high aims, its selfishness, kindness, and gusts of nobler feeling; but though this is done with the same power of keen dissection which was so noticeable in the *Naggletons*, there is nothing either of cynicism on the one hand, or of stiff-starched moralizing on the other, and as little of sympathy with the sins detailed as of denunciation of the sinners. And this we take to be one of the most valuable qualities of Mr. Brooks as a painter of human life and passion. Novelists are so often given to laud or lash the puppets they have set up, and have such pronounced didactic purposes under their dramatic disguises, that we get weary of a fictitious humanity which is a mere peg on which to hang private moral theses, and are grateful when writers are not ashamed to describe men and women as they are—not wholly bad nor wholly good, but composites of mingled vice and virtue, for the most part to be docketed simply according to proportion, which is quite a different thing from classification by essence. But, with this good-tempered impartiality and keen dissection of character, Mr. Brooks has as tender a touch as any man we know of at this present time. He sometimes reminds us of Thackeray by the subtle pathos, the gentle pity, with which he treats the sorrows and shortcomings of his characters. If poor little Lucy sinned in her love, she also suffered by it; if George Farquhar was a mean and spiritless hound, he was also remorseful, and conscious of his baseness, which baseness, moreover, was due to personal cowardice rather than to intrinsic villany. Even Dudley the coarse apothecary, and the arch-scoundrel of the book, had redeeming qualities, active at times, if more generally dormant; and may we not a little pity scoundrelism itself which is mainly due to that hard struggle with poverty known to so many, and which success would probably have prevented? But for that want of success Dudley would never have woven the diabolical plot which went so near to ruin the lives of innocent folk, and would, therefore, never have fallen into the pit he had dug for others; the latent evil in him would not have been developed into active force, and five hundred a year would in all probability have cut down a scamp and have created an honest man in his place.

But if these kindly excuses for the sinner force themselves on the mind by the care which the author takes to show the amount of beauty still left among the ugly ruins—beauty all the same, though overlaid by ugliness and ruin—so, just as impartially, the frailties and follies and petty weaknesses of the virtuous are laid bare; and the soul of the reader is not vexed by the representation of some impossible monster of perfection which, in the form of a man, would deserve kicking. Mr. and Mrs. Conway and Walter Latrobe are perhaps the best examples of Mr. Brooks's manner of setting forth a loveable, but by no means perfect, humanity. Mr. Conway, with his keen susceptibilities, his small jealousies, his puerile tempers, and his candour, truth, integrity, and tenderheartedness; Mrs. Conway, loving, placid, good-tempered, unselfish, with just enough intellect to steer her safely through the shoals of home waters, but else by no means gifted with brains, and prosaic as the British matron generally is; Walter Latrobe, the children's friend, good and pure and honest, and as chivalrous as any Cid or sane Quixote, but not so much afraid of pitch as to refuse the task of arranging his friend's erotic irregularities, nor yet above employing a verbal ruse to let him know, without betraying the secret to others, that the discarded mistress and her two children were well—how entirely true to nature are these three characters! Few writers could have drawn them with so much frankness and tenderness combined—few would have shown their faults so clearly, and yet have left them so thoroughly wholesome and admirable. This is merely saying, in other words, that *Sooner or Later* is free from affectation, and that it has been written with both moral courage and affection. The character of the heroine, Magdalen, is also an instance of that absence of exaggeration which gives such a charm to a work of fiction. Beautiful, faithful, and devoted, loving, and living a life of conscientious endeavour, she is yet a true woman throughout, and by no means an extraordinary or exceptional one. She has no special strength of mind, and no particular force of character; she sinks under her first trial, as no woman of intellectual power would have done; but we would not wish her different from what she is; and when we finally leave her on the safe side of her difficulties, we leave her with an impression of reality not often produced by a young lady heroine of the unsensational type. The scene where she receives the fatal letter is wonderfully natural and pathetic. There is not a line in it that is strained, not a thought that is stilted; it is just a quiet scene of anguish and despair, such as human souls have too often known, and which is too real to be either melodramatic or flat. The scene, too, where poor little Lucy meets Ernest once more, and loses her chance by her petulance, is as true, if less touching. The love which had been merely a personal fancy consolidated by habit, and somewhat hallowed by natural ties, could not stand the tests of absence, a recognised and respectable union, and a vulgar display of temper. Reluctant as Ernest had been only a few months ago to leave "the Lady of the Hut," he was even more reluctant now to acknowledge any claim upon him for a renewal of

\* *Sooner or Later*. By Shirley Brooks, Author of "The Silver Cord," "The Gordian Knot," &c. 2 vols. London: Bradbury, Evans, & Co.



the old affection; and this, not because he was naturally inconstant, but because of the power of circumstances and the force of new obligations, coupled with an offended taste. Had Lucy been wiser and less petulant, perhaps the first consideration would not have been sufficiently strong for the occasion; but the author knew his work when he threw in that makeweight of temper, and made the poor girl taunt her former lover, in the Piazza of Covent Garden, "in the spirit of a milliner's romantic apprentice chiding a draper's faithless assistant." The contrast between her commonplace bearing and Magdalen's noble purity and unquestioned breeding is well and sharply put; and it is in these incidental touches that the true artist reveals himself.

Two main threads run through the story of *Sooner or Later*. The one is the false appearance of Magdalen's indiscretion before marriage—an indiscretion quite compatible with absolute purity, even had it been true as reported, and which causes all the confusion, and nine-tenths of the misery; and the other is Ernest Dormer's real sin, also ante-nuptial, which does no harm to any one save the unfortunate Lucy. At first it seems doubtful on which issue the chief interest is to hang, but the balance turns in favour, or rather in disfavour, of Magdalen; and the plot thickens, and complications increase about what she did and what she did not, till at one time there seems to be no way of explanation left. Of course the reader is all along convinced that there is a mistake somewhere; that Magdalen never had visited Mr. Percy Vaughan as was described; and that after she has been made to walk blindfold among burning ploughshares, after the manner of the accused innocent, she will step out into security and rehabilitation, and the whole mistake will be cleared up somehow. As, indeed, it proved. But the punishment entailed by a lie based on a truth, and the all but complete immunity of a grave scandal, give occasion for some thought and much disapprobation. Not disapprobation with Mr. Shirley Brooks, who has simply said what he knows, but with the denseness of society which seems constitutionally unable to discern truth from falsehood, or to apportion in due degree blame and condonation. Perhaps nothing in the whole book is truer than this central cord of injustice. Here is Ernest, with a mistress and two children as his contribution to the morality of his time, unconfessed to wife or wife's family, running his head against a stone wall, and making every one profoundly miserable, because a vulgar scoundrel swears that Magdalen has been seen in a young lawyer's chambers before marriage, and that a man, now dead and therefore not to be produced, declared he had seen her there, and had, moreover, watched while she was tenderly kissed as she stood by the window. He has not the straightforwardness to ask Magdalen herself the whole ins and outs of the story; but contents himself with a hurried date and an entry, which only serve to deepen suspicion and to fix the stain a little firmer. Upon which his trouble becomes very great indeed, and no one knows whether the whole thing will not come to a crash, and Magdalen be repudiated as an impostor and a good for nothing. The subtle irony of the situation, with Lucy and "Mopes" standing under the Piazza in Covent Garden, is very fine and very faithful. It is the text for a couple of sermons on two themes of undying interest—the first of which would be on the force of appearances compared with the feebleness of fact; and the second on the variations of morality considered according to sex. Sermons sufficient to form a library by themselves might be written on either theme, and yet leave the subject unexhausted; but the position is seldom set so plainly before us as it is in *Sooner or Later*, which thus has the merit of having touched on two vital social conditions in a way to offend no one, but to make every one reflect.

We had marked several passages for extract—bright, incisive, sparkling epigrams, which condense years of experience in a single line; kindly little touches, instinct with charity and real religion; pleasant phrases full of wise philosophy; and subtle hints with one meaning for the initiated and another for the innocent, and which, while they render the book more faithful as a picture of society for men, keep a veil across the grosser tints which no young girl could see through. But our readers must go to the book itself, both for the story and the passages alluded to. We cannot guide the search, but we would specially mention one passage, under the heading "Conjugium," which is about the best thing of its kind ever written. In conclusion, we congratulate Mr. Brooks on having achieved a real and noteworthy success.

#### AMERICAN LITERATURE.

AMONG the many Northern histories of the civil war already completed or in course of publication, there is not one which can be satisfactory to any but a partisan. Why this should be the case we cannot say. Englishmen have shown themselves capable of writing with dignity and forbearance, if not with impartiality, of conflicts in which they bore a part, and which awakened quite as much of bitter feeling as the Confederate struggle for independence. Lord Clarendon's *History of the Rebellion* soars immeasurably above the level of the best of these American histories in candour, generosity, and justice; but even Burnet might serve as a model for their imitation, and the sympathizing historian of the Covenanted martyrs is not more incapable of recognising merit in the followers of Dalziel or Claverhouse than these Northern writers of appreciating the virtues of a foe who gave them no other provocation than

that of gallantly struggling for his supposed rights. In other respects—in descriptive power, in vigour of style, in fulness and carefulness of narrative—several of them attain a much higher standard. Mr. Lossing's history\*, of which the second volume is now before us, is a fair sample of the average character of these works as regards both their merits and their defects. It is complete, painstaking, lively, and vigorously written, while it shares to the full the faults of the whole class. The extent to which the writer possesses the moral qualifications of the historian may be judged by one or two examples. He speaks not only of the *Alabama*, but of the *Sumter*, and the other cruisers fitted out and manned in Confederate ports, as "pirates"; and he accuses General Lee of falsely claiming "a great victory" in the terrible repulse inflicted upon Burnside at Fredericksburg, and of "concealing his lack of military genius" under this and similar "pious frauds." It is strange that even the bitterest of Northern patriots should be insensible to the personal and professional greatness of the chief of the Southern armies. It is but just to observe that this disparagement of their opponents is almost entirely confined to civilian writers; the men who fought against Lee and Johnston and Stonewall Jackson for the most part speak of them as soldiers and gentlemen should speak of such adversaries.

Among the most important, if not the most readable, of the American works before us is the Report of the Comptroller of the Currency†, which deals chiefly with the position and status of the National Banks, but incidentally with various other points that have of late given rise to keen political controversy. Like almost all responsible public officers, the Comptroller is perfectly alive to the extreme inconvenience and mischief of an inconvertible and redundant currency, and earnestly opposed to all measures which might tend to increase its amount, or even to prevent its contraction. He argues, therefore, at great length against the substitution of "greenbacks" for the notes of the National Banks; and if his reasons are not always incontestably sound, his general conclusions appear to be irresistible. Incidentally he states a fact which may serve in some degree to explain why it is that the currency is not more depreciated than it actually is—namely, that nearly 150 millions of dollars in greenbacks are held in reserve by the banks, and thereby withdrawn from circulation. He dwells strongly upon the extreme impolicy, rather than on the iniquity, of the proposed redemption of the debt in currency. He shows that Congress is distinctly pledged to pay it in gold, and that it was contracted on the faith of such payment—a thing obvious enough when we consider that, if liable to be paid off in currency, the creditor could not have the least idea whether he would receive back four-fifths or one-fiftieth of the value lent. But his principal argument, enforced from the standpoint of his own official position, is that currency redemption implies an indefinite expansion of the currency, which must involve the entire commerce of the country in confusion and ruin, and annihilate public and private credit. The requisite issue of greenbacks would render the paper dollar worth but a few cents in coin. It is curious to observe that the writer speaks of a mixed currency, with convertible notes exactly equal in value to coin, as an almost unattainable ideal, apparently unaware that this is the precise condition of the solvent commercial countries of Europe—of England, France, and Germany—and that Sweden has even contrived to keep inconvertible paper on a level with coin. We remember to have found, in that country, that the paper rixdollar was sometimes preferred to silver by the peasant or petty shopkeeper. It is not inconvertibility, but the over-issue to which it leads, that causes depreciation. It is noticeable, also, that some of the men who are now eager for greenback redemption and an unlimited issue of paper—Mr. Stevens, for instance—expressed, on the first issue of inconvertible paper, as strong a sense of its danger, and of the necessity of a strict limitation of the issues, as the strictest economist could, under the circumstances, have desired.

We have also to notice a careful and compendious account of the Resources of California‡, by Mr. Hittell, himself for many years past a resident in that State, which, within the memory of men still young, has passed from the condition of a desert, dotted here and there with extensive but ill-stocked cattle farms, to the rank of an important, thriving, and rapidly-growing commercial community. Of course gold-digging is at present the chief "resource" of California, as it was the foundation of her prosperity. It still exercises, moreover, a powerful and perhaps predominant influence over the character of her people, her customs, and her laws; it has inflicted upon her a population of lawless adventurers, rowdies, desperadoes, criminals, from all parts of the world, which forms a larger and more important element in her society than in that of any other American State or English colony. But safer, more settled, and more permanent forms of industry have already taken root in the State. Silver-mining, wheat and cattle farming, vineyards and orchards, employ a considerable and very thriving population; and

\* *Pictorial History of the Civil War in the United States of America*. By Benson T. Lossing. Illustrated by many Hundred Engravings on Wood, by Lossing & Barritt, from Sketches by the Author and Others. Hartford: T. Belknap. London: Sampson Low, Son, & Marston. 1868.

† *Report of the Comptroller of the Currency to the Second Session of the Fortieth Congress of the United States*. Washington: Government Printing Office. London: Trübner & Co. 1867.

‡ *The Resources of California*. By John S. Hittell. Third Edition. San Francisco: A. Roman & Co. New York: W. H. Widdleton. London: Trübner & Co. 1867.

gold-mining itself is changing its character with the gradual exhaustion of the alluvial deposits, compelling a resort to the quartz rock, which requires the regular organization, machinery, and capital of ordinary mining establishments, and no longer leaves scope for independent individual adventure. The author complains, however, that the quartz mines are less fully developed and less efficiently worked than they might be, owing to the extreme reluctance of capitalists to invest in them. This reluctance he considers unreasonable, but the grounds which he assigns for it would seem amply sufficient to the most adventurous of European monied men. Mining enterprise is always precarious, and quartz-mining peculiarly so, inasmuch as the gold-bearing vein may disappear at any moment, rendering the mine worthless, and the capital sunk irrecoverable. To the natural risks of such an investment are added those caused by dishonesty. It is so easy for miners to secrete the most valuable fragments that fall in their way, that an exceedingly rich portion of quartz is sometimes found to be less profitable to the owners than one of intrinsically less value which offers no temptation to theft. And, even if the mine be profitably worked, it does not follow that the investors will be paid. By a well-understood device, known as "freezing out," the managing partners on the spot, perhaps with the aid of one or two rich men, will cause the expenses apparently to exceed the yield, until the shareholders at a distance are disgusted into selling at a low rate, when these speculators buy up the shares, and appropriate the whole gain to themselves. It is clear, then, that the chances of absolute loss are great, and those of commensurate profit remote and uncertain. All trade, however, is full of uncertainty and risk, arising from the extremely low morality which is characteristic of Californian commerce. The bankruptcy laws of the State seem to be framed for the express purpose of making it easy for a reckless or fraudulent trader to get rid of his liabilities, and almost impossible for creditors to recover their dues. The extreme indulgence shown by the law to postnuptial and other settlements—an indulgence general in America, but carried to excess in California—enables many a swindler to live in luxury on the proceeds of a fraudulent trade, secured by a convenient bankruptcy; and the frequency of such examples tends to perpetuate the demoralization of the mercantile community. The criminal law was at one time administered in a manner equally lax, universal suffrage having installed in judicial and executive offices the accomplices of the professional rowdies and outcasts of every community who swarmed in the State. But the reaction was stern and effectual. The whole respectable community of San Francisco formed itself into a Vigilance Committee, which for some months took the government into its hands. The executive authority was vested in a small body whose members were not then, and have not since been, known to their fellow-citizens, by whom their orders were carried out with unsparing severity. A very few notorious offenders were hanged, and many more compelled to leave the State, order was effectually restored, and the Vigilance Committee dissolved itself. Lynch law still prevails, on occasion, in the remoter mining districts; and public opinion approves the lawless severity by which substantial justice is believed to be done, as a wholesome counteractive to the culpable laxity of the law. Why the same public opinion fails to amend the law, and to elect proper officers to execute it, is a problem which we do not attempt to solve. What is evident is, that Lynch law is regarded by the people among whom it is from time to time put in force, not as an instrument of mob tyranny or party vengeance, but as a protection to life and property, and a terror to evil-doers; it is, in fact, the mode by which the influence of the criminal classes at the ballot-box and in the Courts is neutralized when its effects become intolerable.

*Thanksgiving Memories and Habits*\* is a collection of essays and sermons relating to one of the peculiar national festivals of America; the day annually set apart in each State, by order of the Governor, for public thanksgiving. The custom took its origin in the conflict between Puritan tenets and the natural religious instincts of mankind, which seem to insist on some kind of periodical holiday or festival in connexion with religion. Every creed has such sacred days, and Puritanism vainly sought to do away with them. It succeeded in repudiating the feasts which are inseparably connected with the earliest history of the Christian Church, and which are common to all sects of Christians; it got rid of Easter and of Christmas, but only to substitute exclusive for catholic festivals, local and national for religious and Christian associations. Unlike the Fourth of July, Thanksgiving is properly a religious, and not a political, festival; but lacking the sacred associations of the Catholic holidays, it finds others for itself, and these are chiefly of a national character. The American celebrates, not the great events commemorated by the sacred days of the Church, not the blessings common to all nations, but those specially belonging to his own—the unbounded extent of land at its disposal, its liberty, its wealth, its greatness; and it may be that the character of these festivals, as contrasted with those of the rest of Christendom, has something to do with that unbounded self-appreciation which is a striking feature in the national disposition. Christmas reminds the Englishman of all that he has in common with other nations; Thanksgiving recalls to the American all that has been given to him and denied to others. Something of the tone proper to the

Fourth of July finds its way into this celebration also, and is perceptible, though but faintly, in some passages of the volume before us.

*The Old Roman World*\* will be read with some interest even by those who have learnt from the original sources and in the legitimate mode, by the study of Roman history, what was the condition of Europe under Roman rule, and what were the laws, the institutions, and the manners of the people by whom the then accessible portions of the world were conquered and governed. To other readers it affords an opportunity of acquiring in a compendious form, and in the course of a few hours' reading, what the former have learnt by the study of years. Unfortunately, knowledge so quickly and compendiously obtained is too solid and concentrated for mental digestion; and, moreover, accuracy is apt to be sacrificed to the necessity of brevity of statement. As the author of the *Old Roman World* objects on principle to that practice of careful and conscientious citation of authorities for every important, and especially for every questionable, statement which most modern writers consider obligatory, and as he states facts the most notorious and opinions the most doubtful in the same positive language, the general reader has no means of checking his assertions, and on many matters will be led to take for granted statements which, at best, are uncertain and questionable. Thus in regard to the arms, internal discipline, and arrangements of the Legion, Dr. Lord writes with a positiveness which conceals from his readers the many doubts that exist among the best authorities; and though his views are probably correct, and are in the main those most generally accepted, his language is calculated to convey the impression that the constitution of the Legion is as well known as that of an English regiment, which, as all scholars know, is very far from being the case. So, in regard to the most puzzling question in Roman antiquity, the combination and relations of the tribes and centuries in the Comitia, he states one particular theory—perhaps the most likely, but still one among several—as if it were undoubted matter of fact. These are serious blemishes, but in general the picture drawn of the ancient world under the Imperial government is true and lively.

Colonel Forney's *Letters from Europe*† have all the ordinary qualities of average American newspaper correspondence. They throw more light on American ideas than on English institutions or character, and hardly deserved the honour of a reprint. The most noticeable peculiarity in the writer's point of view is perhaps his tendency to estimate English politicians after the old Roman fashion, not according to their loyalty to their own country, but to their affection for his. A good man, with the American traveller as with the Roman conqueror, is a man who prefers the interests of America to those of his country, and Mr. Bright and his friends are commended for avowing themselves Republicans, and "enrolling themselves in the mighty brotherhood that wields the destinies of" America. Some of Colonel Forney's friends will perhaps hardly be gratified by his reproduction of statements which, if actually made, were certainly not intended for publication in England.

*The History of the Society of Friends*‡, in four thick octavo volumes, is somewhat too diffuse and tedious for the taste of a public which has so many more exciting and important subjects of study than the story of an eccentric and dwindling sect. It contains, however, much original and interesting matter—many pathetic narratives of labours undertaken and sufferings endured by the earliest disciples of George Fox, in the days when, both in Puritan America and in orthodox England, Quakers were hardly less hated than Papists. The Quakers, despite their doctrine of non-resistance, were a most aggressive body, given to interrupt the service of the Church, and vituperate the minister as a hireling, with as little respect of persons as of seasons; but it is noticeable that the higher authorities soon learned to recognise their harmlessness, and that their persecutors were rather the populace and the local magistrates than the Government, whether of Cromwell, the Stuarts, or William III. It is also observable that they were much more savagely persecuted by the Puritans than by the Church—as was, indeed, the almost universal rule. The history is brought down to the period of the great American schism between the orthodox and "Hicksite" parties about 1827-30; and the author, although manifestly an adherent of the latter, tells the story of this quarrel with the same quiet moderation which pervades the whole work—a moderation as commonly characteristic of the language and spirit of modern Quakers as were vehemence and extravagance of the contemporaries of Penn and Fox.

*The Lives of the Reformers*§, before and independent of the

\* *The Old Roman World, and the Grandeur and Failure of Civilization.* By John Lord, LL.D. New York: Charles Scribner & Co. London: Trübner & Co. 1867.

† *Letters from Europe.* By John W. Forney, Secretary of the Senate of the United States, Proprietor and Editor of the "Philadelphia Press" and "Washington Chronicle." Philadelphia: T. B. Peterson & Brothers. London: Sampson Low, Son, & Marston.

‡ *History of the Religious Society of Friends, from its Rise to the Year 1828.* By Samuel M. Tanney, Author of "Life of William Penn." "Life of George Fox," &c. 4 vols. Philadelphia: T. Ellwood Zell. London: Trübner & Co. 1867.

§ *The Lives, Sentiments, and Sufferings of some of the Reformers and Martyrs, Before, Since, and Independent of the Lutheran Reformation.* By William Hodgson. Philadelphia: T. B. Lippincott & Co. London: Trübner & Co. 1867.

\* *Thanksgiving; Memories of the Day; Helps to the Habit.* By William Adams, D.D. New York: Charles Scribner & Co. London: Trübner & Co. 1867.



Lutheran Reformation, deserve more attention than they often receive. So long as the history of the Reformation is read as if it began with Luther, after the common fashion of school teachers and school books both in England and America, it must remain either unintelligible or misunderstood. In giving his countrymen a succinct history of the lives and work of Tauler, Wickliffe, Huss, Savonarola, and other predecessors of Luther, Mr. Hodgson helps to render the religious revolution of the sixteenth century intelligible, and to make it appear, not an abnormal convulsion of the social world, but the final and successful outbreak of forces that had been long working beneath the surface. It is a pity that, among the Reformers after Luther, no notice is taken of those who, like the Jansenists, have arisen within the Roman Church itself.

The *Book of the Artists*\* is a history of American artists and art, similar in scope to a score of national works of the same kind in which Englishmen, Frenchmen, Germans have celebrated the achievements of their countrymen in painting and sculpture. But inasmuch as the history of American art extends over a very brief period, and the list of American artists is as yet a short one, Mr. Tuckerman is not only able to do in one volume what would have taken half a dozen in any other country, but finds himself obliged to include in his enumeration some names which a nation more prolific of artists of real distinction would hardly think worthy to appear in such a record. This insignificance of some of the subjects detracts a good deal from the interest of the biographical portion of the work; but a great part of its contents is undoubtedly valuable, and the volume will serve to make English readers better acquainted with the achievements of American art, and with some names, at least, that deserve to be known on this side of the Atlantic.

Of poetry and fiction the supply is this month unusually large, but contains no work of very remarkable interest. Lieut.-Colonel Patten's † *Voices of the Border* are average verses, such as many a man has written in the intervals of an active or studious life, not devoid of spirit and not wanting in occasional touches of real poetry, but never rising to the level at which verses become true poems. Miss Cary's verses ‡ are a little above the standard of ordinary hymn-books, and somewhat further below that of such few hymns as men can remember and enjoy. *Titan Agonistes* § is much such a work as one might expect from its double title—the work of a man who has mistaken frenzy for fire, and violence for vigour. *Temple House* ||, and *Vanquished* ¶, are novels of the American type—a type certainly distinct from the English, but just as prone to a mediocrity which renders the reviewer's task little less than an impossibility. American children are more fortunate in this respect than their elders; the books of fiction specially written for them are generally lively and sensible, and so far as our observation goes, contain a smaller proportion of false sentiment and sermonizing than Cis-Atlantic writers or mothers think it necessary to infuse into the mental diet of children. *On the Wing* \*\*, and *Rainbows for Children* ††, are apparently ordinary specimens of this class, none the less wholesome that there has been no attempt to render them disagreeably moral.

\* *Book of the Artists. American Artist Life, comprising Biographical and Critical Sketches of American Artists: preceded by an Historical Account of the Rise and Progress of Art in America.* By Henry P. Tuckerman. New York: G. P. Putnam & Son. London: Sampson Low, Son, & Marston.

† *Voices of the Border; comprising Songs of the Field, Songs of the Bowyer, Indian Melodies, and Promiscuous Poems.* By Lieut.-Colonel G. W. Patten, United States Army. New York: Hurd & Houghton. London: Sampson Low, Son, & Marston. 1867.

‡ *Poems of Faith, Hope, and Love.* By Phoebe Cary. New York: Hurd & Houghton. London: Sampson Low, Son, & Marston. 1868.

§ *Titan Agonistes; the Story of an Outcast.* New York: G. W. Carleton & Co. London: Sampson Low, Son, & Marston. 1867.

|| *Temple House.* A Novel. By Elizabeth Stoddard, Author of "The Morgesons," &c. &c. New York: G. W. Carleton & Co. London: Sampson Low, Son, & Marston.

¶ *Vanquished.* A Novel. By Agnes Leonard. New York: G. W. Carleton & Co. London: Sampson Low, Son, and Marston. 1867.

\*\* *Sunny Hour Stories; on the Wing.* By Nellie Eyster, Author of "Sunny Hours," &c. Illustrated by White. Philadelphia. Duffield Ashmead. London: Sampson Low, Son, & Marston. 1868.

†† *Rainbows for Children.* Edited by L. Maria Child. Boston: Ticknor & Fields. London: Sampson Low, Son, & Marston. 1867.

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The publication of the SATURDAY REVIEW takes place on Saturday mornings, in time for the early trains, and copies may be obtained in the Country, through any News-agent, on the day of publication.

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## ADVERTISEMENTS.

**MONDAY POPULAR CONCERTS, St. James's Hall.**—MORNING PERFORMANCES, on Saturdays, February 23, March 7, 14, at Three o'clock. On Saturday, February 23, Madame Schumann, M.M. Joachim, L. Riss, Henry Blagrove, and Patti will appear. Sofa Stalls, 5s.; Balcony, 3s.; Admission, 1s.—Programmes and Tickets at Chappell & Co.'s, 50 New Bond Street.

**MONDAY POPULAR CONCERTS, St. James's Hall.**—On Monday next, February 24, the Programme will include Mendelssohn's Quartet in E minor, Op. 44, for Stringed Instruments; Schumann's Trio in D minor, for Pianoforte, Violin, and Violoncello; Beethoven's Sonata in C minor, Op. 30, for Piano, Violin, &c. Executants, Madame Schumann, M.M. Joachim, L. Riss, Henry Blagrove, and Patti. Sofa Stalls, 5s.; Balcony, 3s.; Admission, 1s.—Tickets and Programmes at Chappell & Co.'s, 50 New Bond Street; Keith, Frowse, & Co.'s, 48 Cheapside; and at Austin's, 28 Piccadilly.

## SCHUMANN EVENINGS.

**HERR SCHLOESSER'S FIRST SCHUMANN EVENING** on Thursday, March 3, at Eight o'clock, at the Beethoven Rooms, 37 Harley Street. Programme: 1. Trio in D minor, for Piano, Violin, and Violoncello, M.M. Schloesser, Pollitzer, and Paque (Schumann).—2. Songs.—a. Die Rose, die Lilie; b. Widmung; Madlle. Bernadine Bräuer (Schumann).—3. Fantasia, Stücke for Piano and Clarinet, M.M. Schloesser and Paque (Schumann).—4. Song, Frühlingssnacht, Madlle. Bernadine Bräuer (Schumann).—5. Quartet in E flat, for Piano, Violin, Viola, and Violoncello, M.M. Schloesser, Pollitzer, Wiesner, and Paque (Schumann).—Subscription Ticket for the Four Evenings, One Guinea; Single Ticket, 7s. 6d.; to be had at Messrs. Chappell & Co.'s, 50 New Bond Street; and of Herr Schloesser, 2 Upper George Street, Bryanston Square.

**WILL CLOSE ON SATURDAY, MARCH 14.**  
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A small useful Set, guaranteed of first quality for finish and durability, as follows:—

	Fiddle or Old Silver Pattern.	Bead Pattern.	Thread Pattern.	King's or Shell and Turfed.
12 Table Forks.....	1 15 0	2 0 0	5 4 0	2 10 0
12 Table Spoons.....	1 15 0	2 0 0	2 4 0	2 10 0
12 Dessert Forks.....	1 4 0	1 0 0	1 12 0	1 15 0
12 Dessert Spoons.....	1 4 0	1 0 0	1 12 0	1 15 0
12 Tea Spoons.....	0 16 0	1 0 0	1 2 0	1 5 0
6 Egg Spoons, gilt bowls.....	0 10 0	0 12 0	0 13 0	0 13 0
2 Sauce Ladles.....	0 6 0	0 8 0	0 8 0	0 9 0
1 Gravy Spoon.....	0 6 0	0 9 0	0 10 0	0 11 0
2 Salt Spoons, gilt bowls.....	0 3 4	0 4 0	0 4 0	0 4 6
1 Mustard Spoon, gilt bowl.....	0 1 8	0 2 0	0 2 0	0 2 3
1 Pair of Sugar Tongs.....	0 3 0	0 3 6	0 3 6	0 4 0
1 Pair of Fish Carvers.....	1 4 0	1 10 0	1 10 0	1 10 0
1 Butter Knife.....	0 2 0	0 4 6	0 5 6	0 6 0
1 Soup Ladle.....	0 10 0	0 12 0	0 16 0	0 17 0
1 Sugar Sifter.....	0 3 0	0 4 6	0 4 6	0 5 0
Total.....	9 10 0	12 9 6	13 9 6	14 17 3

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